WILLIAM GREENLEAF ELIOT

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Minister, Educator, Philanthropist

BY

CHARLOTTE C. ELIOT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JAMES K. HOSMER, PH. D., LL. D.

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PREFACE

The following narrative of over fifty years of labor in the interest of a higher civilization of religion, morality, and learning has been prepared in the belief that the facts therein presented are worthy of permanent record. Although the story is intended primarily as a personal memoir, incidentally it relates to events of historical importance, and depicts life in the West during its formative period under conditions that will not recur.

The materials used in the preparation of this memoir have been obtained from Dr. Eliot's diaries, correspondence, sermons, reports, and other documents, published and unpublished, in the study of which contemporaneous history has been consulted. In the diaries occur frequent intervals of days, months, and years. The record for 1849, the year of pestilence in St. Louis, is quite full; and that from 1861 to the close of 1862 contains under the head of "Suggestions" the original draft of the military order creating the Western Sanitary Commission, and of the

documents issued by that commission during the period mentioned. For seven or eight years thereafter no journal was kept, and the narrative relating to this portion of Dr. Eliot's life is based on his correspondence.

The importance of the interests to which Dr. Eliot devoted his life suggested individual treatment of the subjects considered, as conducing to clearness and thoroughness of presentation, and there are, therefore, separate chapters on church, educational, and other work. This method was deemed preferable to a strict adherence to chronological order in the sequence of events.

To a proper estimate of Dr. Eliot's influence during the period of the Civil War, and of the results effected by him in aiding to save Missouri to the Union, an historical sketch proved essential. The same treatment was for similar reasons accorded to the account of his agency in establishing and directing the work of the Western Sanitary Commission. The history of this latter organization has been given more in detail because of popular ignorance on the subject. There are many historians to chronicle the sanguinary conflicts of war, but few who deem its humanities worthy of portrayal. The facts upon which this narration is based were obtained from

the original record book of the Commission, and from reports issued by its secretary during the holding of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, which reports were completed and issued in book form at the close of the Civil War. The book referred to is simply a collection of reports, and contains many uninteresting details. It was the hope of the gentlemen composing the Board of the Western Sanitary Commission that the secretary, Rev. J. G. Forman, would at some time rewrite the account of the work of the Commission in more attractive literary form, but he did not live to accomplish the task.

In preparing this memoir the writer has taken especial satisfaction in presenting Dr. Eliot's work in the cause of emancipation, as for many years his conservative attitude was misunderstood and misconstrued by persons of more radical ideas. As a matter of fact he expressed in the pulpit and on the rostrum sentiments that would have entailed swift retribution if uttered in the heat of debate by one less honored and respected. Impassioned but never passionate, he appealed to the reason and conscience, and men could not gainsay him.

A man of deep and tender affections, whose intensity of feeling was only equaled by his

strong power of self-control, Dr. Eliot was reticent in the expression of his own emotions. This reserve has been respected by his biographer, who believes that a record of his deeds is a sufficient revelation of character. To the youth of the present generation may be commended the Christian zeal, the moral enthusiasm, the exalted patriotism and lofty example of men like William Greenleaf Eliot and his co-workers, the rich harvest of whose labors it is theirs to reap.

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INTRODUCTION

Just seventy years ago there appeared in the city of St. Louis a minister, twenty-three years old, whose subsequent career was sufficiently remarkable to make it fitting that it should be written down. Of New England birth but reared in Washington, D. C., he returned as maturity approached to New England to complete his education. Then, fresh from the Harvard Divinity School, he took up his life-work as the first exponent of the Unitarian views west of the Mississippi. Through both father and mother he came of honorable lineage; his brothers and sisters were persons useful and distinguished; his own career from the first was worthy of such antecedents and relationships.

Dr. William Greenleaf Eliot was for thirty-nine years pastor of the Church of the Messiah in St. Louis, a pastorate remarkably successful. Aside from his ministrations to his flock, he made his influence felt in the community in many ways. Few projects of moment, having in view the elevation of society, could in that time be named, of which he was not the originator or an effective helper from the start. He was the friend of the poor and oppressed of every land and

complexion, in particular of the negro. Under slavery he mitigated, so far as his great influence extended, the hard lot of the blacks. Though having no part with the extremists who declared the Constitution of the United States to be "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," he was actively anti-slavery, and from the outbreak of the Civil War was zealously loyal. In the Western Sanitary Commission, which came into existence through his suggestion, he was always a leader in collecting and applying the millions which flowed through its channels to the relief of the soldiers in the field. His youngest brother, a gallant officer, was killed at Chancellorsville at the head of his men. His brother Thomas, in Congress, became conspicuous for wisdom and ability in the difficult time of reconstruction. William, in Missouri, played a part not less honorable and important in carrying through the struggle and in bringing to pass afterward a proper settlement. Lincoln and his cabinet officers and generals received his advice with respect.

In particular, Dr. Eliot's interest was great in education. The first free school west of the Mississippi was begun under his direction, and no one deserves more than he to be regarded as the father of the public school system in Missouri. Washington University, a cluster of educational institutions conceived after the broadest standard, containing at the present moment thousands

of pupils, provided with structures among the finest in the world, and possessing an endowment of several millions, came into existence through the efforts of the group of men of whom Dr. Eliot was the centre and inspiration. He was president of the board of directors of Washington University from its establishment; and in 1873, having resigned his pastorate of the Church of the Messiah, he became its chancellor. Henceforth, until his strength failed, he gave himself up mainly to the direction of the institution, showing always a rare wisdom and devotedness. Dr. Eliot was perhaps over-ready to sacrifice the interests of individuals in furthering the welfare of institutions and causes which he deemed important, but he always laid himself first upon the altar. Full himself of the spirit of self-sacrifice, he demanded it from others, and remarkable indeed was the consecration to high ends of means and energies brought to pass through incitements proceeding from him. In particular he was zealous for his university. For this he well-nigh impoverished himself, while at the same moment giving his time and powers unremittingly to its administration. If it stands to-day magnificently appointed, abounding in endowments, sought by thousands of pupils, a culmination of sweetness and light, let not the man be forgotten who laid its corner-stone and watched over its small beginnings. Of all the worthies of early New England,

not one possesses so brilliant and desirable a fame as the young minister who, by a bequest of £400 and his library of two hundred and sixty volumes to a school struggling into life, associated his name forever with our proudest seat of learning. What John Harvard did for Cambridge bears no comparison with what William G. Eliot did for Washington University. The moneyed gift of the latter was much more than fifty-fold that of the early dying Charlestown pastor, even measured by the changed standards of the present day; and there was, besides, the faithful service during the period of a generation. The present writer remembers hearing General W. T. Sherman, for many years the friend of Dr. Eliot, and cognizant of his great work, express regret that the university did not bear his name. Others have felt the same regret. It would be at any rate the height of injustice if his service to it were overlaid and forgotten; and it is a subject for rejoicing that the detailed story of his work for Washington University, as also of his other work, now at last finds a proper presentment in the excellent book which follows.

Dr. Eliot was a man of quite unusual versatility. He attained eminence as a preacher and educational organizer. The fine literary finish of everything he wrote makes it certain that, had he so chosen, he might have succeeded as an

author. In affairs he was full of enterprise and possessed excellent judgment. "If I could have had Dr. Eliot for a partner," said an able man of business once, "we should have made most of the money west of the Alleghanies." He possessed, moreover, a certain firmness of will, quickness of perception, self-reliance and balance, that no circumstances could disturb, and, withal, a dauntless courage, which, had fate so willed it, might have made him a brilliant soldier.

Dr. Eliot was short of stature and of delicate frame. For many years his work was done in the midst of constant suffering. The contrast was almost pathetic between the smallness of his physical resources and the magnitude of the enterprises which he dared to undertake. But there was no inadequacy. His conquering spirit sustained and supplemented everywhere his feeble body. Every important work to which he put his hand was carried through to success. This activity, so long-continued, so effective, so beneficent, has waited long for its record. Now that the record appears, it should meet with a warm welcome.

James K. Hosmer.

WILLIAM GREENLEAF ELIOT

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

In the year 1812, New Bedford was a seaport town with a foreign trade, extensive for that period. Its commercial prosperity, however, received a sudden check from the embargo on American shipping, a result of the war between England and America. Trading vessels lay idle in the harbor, a losing investment for their unfortunate owners.

Among those who thus suffered great financial loss was William Greenleaf Eliot, merchant and shipowner, then a young man thirty-one years of age. In 1807 he had married his cousin Margaret Dawes, ten years his junior, and had settled with his young wife in New Bedford, as their future home. In 1812 he was the father of three children, of whom the youngest, William Greenleaf Eliot, Jr., had been born the previous year, August 5, 1811.

At the beginning of his married life William Eliot, Senior, had every reason to look forward

to a prosperous business career in New Bedford, but when reverses of fortune came he bore them with religious fortitude and philosophic resignation, neither subdued nor discouraged. He resolved to seek elsewhere some new avenue of employment, and removed with his family to Baltimore. From there he later went to Washington, D. C., in which city he received an appointment as chief examiner in the auditing office of the Postal Department, a position which he retained for thirty-five consecutive years.

From both parents, and a more remote ancestry, William G. Eliot, Jr., inherited decided traits of character. His great-grandfather, Rev. Andrew Eliot, pastor of the old North Church in Boston, was an earnest and zealous minister, possessing strong convictions of duty, and keenly alive to the responsibilities of his calling. When offered the presidency of Harvard College, he refused the appointment, believing it wrong to relinquish his vocation for any other, however honorable.

Samuel Eliot, the son of Andrew and grandfather of William G. Eliot, Jr., was a young man of great promise, who died at the early age of thirty-six years, leaving a wife and five children.

Margaret Dawes Eliot, mother of William G. Eliot, Jr., was a woman of strong intellect and unusual force of character. She belonged to a family conspicuous in the early annals of Boston.

Her grandfather, Colonel Thomas Dawes, was always active in public affairs. He filled in turn the offices of representative, senator, and councilor in Massachusetts. He was considered one of the first great mechanics of Boston, being by trade a mason, which at that period seemed to represent a combination of architect, builder, and mason. As architect of the Brattle Street Church, he laid the corner-stone, and did half the mason work in addition to designing the building. He was also supervising architect of the State House. It was said of him that "he was a high patriot," and the Tories nicknamed him in derision "Jonathan Smoothing Plane." He took so conspicuous a part in the early events of the Revolution that he became obnoxious to the royalists, and his house on Purchase Street was sacked by the British troops before they left Boston.

In 1786 he was one of the deacons of the Old South Church, and his "venerable appearance, grave deportment, rich dress, and silver locks" are said to have given him an impressive appearance as he walked up the broad aisle every Sunday. A curious epitaph on his monument at King's Chapel thus begins: —

> "Of his taste for the Grecian simplicity
> In architecture there are many monuments
> Which he raised when that art was new to us."

Judge Thomas Dawes, son of Colonel Thomas Dawes, Senior, and grandfather of William G.

Eliot, Jr., sat for ten years, from 1792 to 1802, on the bench of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. From 1802 to 1825, when he "died full of honors," he was Judge of Probate. He also sat for twenty years on the municipal bench of Boston. In an account given of him in a book entitled "Boston Orators," he is described as "a small man, but very eloquent." It is related of him that, on one occasion being present at a gathering where there were many large men, he was asked how he felt. "Like a silver shilling among copper pennies," he quickly answered.

Through two lines of descent William Greenleaf Eliot, Jr., was a great-grandson of William Greenleaf, one of whose daughters married Samuel Eliot, and another Thomas Dawes, Jr. A third daughter married Judge William Cranch, the future father-in-law of William Eliot, Jr. The Greenleafs were a Huguenot family, who emigrated from France to England, and thence to America.

William Greenleaf, a stanch Whig, was appointed sheriff of Suffolk County, including Boston, in 1775. He succeeded his elder brother, who was a Tory. As sheriff of Boston, it was his duty to read the Declaration of Independence, from the balcony of the old State House, in July, 1776. On this joyful occasion "the bells of the town were rung," and every sign that belonged to a Tory taken down for a general

conflagration on King Street, now State Street. Judge William Cranch told his family that on that day his cousin, John Quincy Adams, and he, then boys of nine and seven years of age, were playing in the garden of their residence near by. Hearing the noise in the street, they ran out barefooted as they were, to see what was going on. When in the crowd, some men lifted them up that they might see and hear. Judge Cranch said that William Greenleaf, the high sheriff of Suffolk County, began to read the Declaration of Independence. The people cried out that he must read louder. He raised his voice, but the cry was repeated: "Read louder! louder!" and he then handed the paper to Colonel Thomas Crafts, who had a strong, powerful voice.

William Cranch, this same boy of seven, was in the lapse of time to marry the daughter of William Greenleaf.

Active in public affairs, interested in the common weal, good citizens and men of unblemished character, the ancestors of William Greenleaf Eliot, Jr., left to their descendants a nobler heritage than riches.

When William G. Eliot, Senior, removed to Washington, it was to spend there the remaining measure of his days. He resigned his office under the government, April, 1853, stating that he felt "the infirmities of age pressing so heavily" upon him as to "make it proper to retire

to private life." He was then seventy-two years of age, and died in December of that same year, a few days before his seventy-third birthday. Of his family of eight children, three sons and three daughters lived to mature age.

After his early reverses of fortune, he was never a wealthy man. With some self-sacrifice on his own and his wife's part, he gave to his children all the advantages of education that could be procured, Mrs. Eliot herself aiding in their instruction. Theirs was a household in which the accidents of wealth were not missed, so long as there remained the essential elements of mental and spiritual progress, — books, education, social intercourse, and the inspiration of noble ideals.

Home influences tended to enhance the natural earnestness of disposition which was always a predominant trait in the character of William G. Eliot, Jr. In his boyhood he was sent to New Bedford because of its educational advantages, and there attended the Friends' Academy. One of his schoolmates, referring to his school days there, wrote: "His influence was felt in the whole school, young as he was. He had great earnestness as well as dignity. He appeared more advanced in every way than other boys, and yet there never was sweeter hilarity and joy. He was as eager to help us in our May-day festivals given in the woods, as he was devoted to

study. 'His manners were as formed then as in later years. None ever felt the rude boy."

Columbian College, of Washington, D. C., received its charter from Congress in 1821. An old certificate of scholarship, yellow with age, certifies that there was received of William G. Eliot one hundred and thirty-four dollars and sixteen cents, principal and interest on this certificate. This entitled the subscriber to "twenty collegiate years' tuition." Truly a generous return for a small outlay! From the indorsements on the back of the certificate of William G. Eliot, Senior, we find that his eldest son, Thomas Dawes Eliot, received tuition at the college from 1823 until the close of 1825, and William Greenleaf Eliot, Jr., from 1826 until 1830, when he graduated.

For one year after graduation William G. Eliot, Jr., was employed in the Postal Department at Washington, D. C., serving as assistant clerk in the chief examiner's room. In an address, delivered nearly half a century later, he related a curious circumstance which seems to have first awakened in him the desire to make St. Louis his future home. He stated that, during this period of his clerkship in Washington, whenever he opened the quarterly returns from St. Louis, "carefully served up in a doeskin by Wilson P. Hunt, postmaster," he was accustomed to read the Missouri "Republican" containing

the dead-letter list, and determined that if ever he went West, St. Louis would be the resting place.

In 1831 Mr. Eliot entered the Cambridge Divinity School as a student. So fitting in his case seemed this choice of a profession, that it would be difficult to imagine an alternative. His parents approved of his desire to enter the ministry, and his father thus wrote to him soon after he reached Cambridge: "I rejoice more and more that your choice of a profession is what it is. I am sure your prospect of happiness in this life is greater than it could be in any other profession, and as it has been made voluntarily, and from conviction, I am sure you never will regret it."

The three years spent at the Cambridge Divinity School seem to have been a period of almost unalloyed happiness. Congenial pursuits, the companionship of fellow-students having the same interests, and the delightful social intercourse of Cambridge and Boston, were keenly enjoyed. Between William Greenleaf Eliot and James Freeman Clarke, one year his senior, there was formed one of those friendships, as rare as they are beautiful, which are founded on mutual love, esteem, and respect, and continue throughout life. James Freeman Clarke graduated one year in advance of his younger friend, and settled in Louisville, Kentucky. A correspondence then began, frequent for the first few years, and

lasting, with longer intervals between the letters, throughout the lifetime of William Eliot. These letters of his friend, Mr. Clarke once characterized as "affectionate, playful, wise, and tender." Each of the two men carefully preserved the letters of the other, but so intimate was the relation between them, so unreservedly did each express to the other his inmost thoughts, his spiritual doubts, his hopes and aspirations, that we almost shrink from reading this revelation of one soul to another. Especially is this true of the earlier correspondence.

Of their student life while at the divinity school, Dr. Clarke thus spoke in a memorial sermon, delivered after the death of Dr. Eliot: "William Henry Channing, William Greenleaf Eliot, and I saw each other every day, and our conversation was on the most important themes. William Eliot was more practical, William Channing more ideal. Like all sincere souls, each of these men valued in the other that in which the other excelled himself. Already devoted to all philanthropies, William Eliot sometimes condemned that I should think it worth while to read as much as I then did of German poetry and philosophy. His own time was largely occupied in visiting the poor and the prisoners, and in examining the working of asylums and hospitals. . . . But his power of self-judgment and self-adjustment showed itself even in this; for

one day he asked me to give him some profound work of German philosophy to read, 'for,' said he, 'I need to balance all this external work with some hard study.' I suggested Fichte's 'Bestimmung des Menschen' (Destiny of Man), which I had just read. He went through it in the same exhaustive way in which he did everything, making himself master of the argument, and some years after he told me he thought that was about the best thing he did in the divinity school. In a letter written to me from Cambridge, in 1833, he says, 'You cannot tell how much I feel the need of deep, abstract study. I feel drawn as by a strong cord to German. I am now reading Fichte's sun-clear account of his system. English books seem too much on the surface, while principles are what my nature craves.' He saw that there is nothing more practical than life fed from deep thought."

At this period William Eliot was much interested in German philosophy. He wrote to Mr. Clarke again: "I am reading Madame de Staël on German philosophy. I am delighted with it. German philosophy is the bugbear of our firesides, and is almost another name for infidelity; yet if the learned are ever redeemed from skepticism, it must be by its influence. The foundations of my religion are tenfold stronger than they were a year since, and I feel that I stand on a rock. My earnest prayer is that German

literature and science may have free course among us."

In 1833–34, William Eliot read Goethe extensively, both in the original and translations. "Wilhelm Meister," especially, he read and re-read several times, declaring that he was enraptured with it. Herein he showed his humanitarian bias, for what most delighted him in the book was "the wonderful knowledge of human nature in all its phases and modifications, — the perfect development in Wilhelm of the spiritual philosophy." For every sentiment expressed in the book, he "found some response in himself," although he acknowledges that his opinion of Goethe is rather mixed, on account of the frequent appearance of sensual tendencies and feelings. "Yet," he exclaims, "why find partial and perhaps unfounded faults where there is so much to admire? It is a great book. How familiar is its author with the most undefined shades of human thought, and the secret workings of the religious heart, and the early dawning and the gradual growth of the spiritual and divine in the soul."

The philosophy of Goethe, William Eliot did not always find congenial with his feelings. There was occasionally something akin to "practical atheism," a "sort of chance or fate," which, although it might not be a part of his philosophy, could not be altogether foreign from his, Goethe's, mind.

Nothing is more characteristic of William Eliot's work as a student than his desire to discover and accept truth wherever found. Yet always with discrimination he tried to separate the tares from the wheat, the true from the false, and remain steadfast in his central religious convictions. To Mr. Clarke, in 1833, he thus wrote: "The longer I live, every additional day, I see more of the importance of a real faith in the existence of truth. I have come to the decided opinion that there is *one* Philosophy, *one* Religion. What they are, God only knows. Every consideration leads me to think that there is one stream of truth, which is from and to eternity, deep, pure, and spiritual — to which every soul tends, and will reach sooner or later. It is this belief which is of the essence of religious faith, for he who recognizes the existence of anything permanent and spiritual must be religious."

Among so many systems of philosophy, amid so much theory and speculation, where shall truth be sought and found? William Eliot thus expresses the conclusion at which he has arrived: "For my own part, I believe the path of duty, in its widest sense of religion, of usefulness, is the very path which soonest leads to the love and perception of truth."

For William Eliot, who had already decided to be an evangelist, a missionary, this "path of duty" was to lead to what was then a distant out-

post of civilization, away from the world of books, and removed from the sympathetic intercourse of his fellow-workers in the Unitarian denomination. He loved these things not less than other men, but his Christian zeal, his desire to do good, led him where he was most needed. Who can say that for him the path of duty was not the path which soonest led to the love and perception of truth?

Among William Eliot's friends at Cambridge was included the revered and beloved Henry Ware, teacher, counselor, and friend. Dr. Channing was then pastor of the Federal Street Church, which Mr. Eliot must have attended, since he later referred to him as his minister. He regarded Dr. Channing with great reverence and affection, and seems to have been strongly influenced by him in his early religious views. He was also much attached to Dr. Channing's colleague, Dr. Gannett.

William Eliot always found a welcome awaiting him in the hospitable home of Dr. James Freeman at Newton. Of this home Dr. De Normandie said that it was a home of "intellectual activity, of human interests, and of a spiritual atmosphere," all of which made it most congenial and attractive for a young man who thirsted for the sympathy he there found.

Other friends there were, among them Margaret Fuller, whom Mr. Eliot greatly admired. He wrote to his friend Mr. Clarke that he had spent

a delightful evening in conversation with her, and again he referred to her as being "as witty and intellectual as ever."

The first sermon which William Eliot delivered in his course at the divinity school was characteristic of his future work, for the subject was "Philanthropy." He wrote Mr. Clarke that he had the assurance to preach to the school "as if they had been any one else." He added that, "having come to the conclusion that we should do all we can and sacrifice everything," he "left them to their reflections."

While at the divinity school Mr. Eliot decided to begin his ministry at some distant point, probably in the West. This desire was increased when in 1833 his friend Mr. Clarke was settled over the Unitarian Church at Louisville, Kentucky. William Henry Channing seems to have considered going to St. Louis, but decided against it. This action William Eliot deplored. In August, 1833, he wrote to Mr. Clarke: "I wish you would tell me something of what the prospect in the West is for us young, ambitious preachers. Is it on the whole a good field for useful labor? I hear that at St. Louis a parish is getting together; is it true, and what about it?" Again, in December he wrote: "Next Christmas I shall spend in the North, South, East, or West — God knows! I wish it might happen to be in your vicinity. If you will remain at Louisville, I will come to

St. Louis, or some nearer place." In those days of travel by stage-coach, or along streams obstructed by sand-bars, St. Louis was much more distant from Boston than is London now, counting by the time required to make the journey. It is evident that William Eliot realized the sacrifice involved in going there, for he again wrote to Mr. Clarke in February: "What matters it if the few years of life be spent in cities or in a wilderness. . . . I am doubtful, but very decided. . . . I must know more what is the prospect of success — what the character of the people — the probable number of Unitarians to begin with — the peculiar discouragements, etc. . . . Say decidedly 'You can succeed, — you have the requisite ability,' and if I know myself, I will come. The self-sacrifice, though it sometimes comes over one like a cold hand on the heart, in general means nothing at all. Let them know in some way that a youngster is ready to come there to live, to spend his life among them if they will provide food and lodging — for if I come, I come to remain, and to lay my ashes in the valley of the Mississippi."

Two weeks later he again wrote: "When I look at those youths who are candidating hereabouts, the bare possibility of my becoming one of them is a strong jog like a voice: 'Arise! Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred to a land that I shall show thee.' Mr. Ware

has said that he thinks me well suited to the task of pioneering, and for myself I believe my mind is made up. I have written home to the like effect, and am expecting letters of condolence; they will more probably be of encouragement, for my parents are not of a sort to stand in the way of even a youthful and enthusiastic project of usefulness."

The answer came in a letter from his father, dated March 18. He acquiesced in his son's decision, as was to have been expected, although he did not entirely approve. "I would rather," he wrote, "if circumstances permit, have you remain in Cambridge another year. . . . I can see that there would be some advantage to you in having you depend entirely on your own mental resources, but before drawing on them so liberally as you would be obliged to do in the far West, you should have a good stock provided. In that new country you would want counselors and a library, and your labors would be very heavy. . . . I would have you weigh the matter well, consult friends who can assist your judgment, and pray for assistance from above, and my son, whatever your final determination in the matter may be, I shall bid you Godspeed, and will in every way give you assistance."

In his ultimate decision William Eliot, Jr., received the blessing of his parents, if not their entire approval. To the enthusiasm of youth,

difficulties seem and are less insurmountable than they appear to the cooler judgment of age. From a letter to Mr. Clarke, however, it is evident that the young divinity student had begun more fully to realize what was before him. He wrote : "To-day I have had conversation with Mr. Goodwin, who was in St. Louis, and he gives me encouragement to go. He says I shall find society enough to be happy in, and that it depends on me whether I succeed or not. There are enough to begin with who are ready to do what they can to support a Unitarian minister, but the arduousness of the situation is greater than I thought, if the society there is so mixed. I think I shall go, but am anxious to learn more."

In this spirit of self-consecration, William Greenleaf Eliot, Jr., was ordained as an Evangelist, at the Federal Street Church, Dr. Channing's, in Boston, on August 17, 1834, twelve days after his twenty-third birthday. On this occasion, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, then of Louisville, preached from the text John x. 14. The Ordaining Prayer was delivered by Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., the Charge by Rev. W. H. Furness of Philadelphia, the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Cazneau Palfrey, of Washington, D. C., and the Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Taylor ("Father Taylor"), of the Seamen's Church, Boston. A curious document, signed C. Stetson, Scribe of the Ordaining Committee,

certifies that Mr. William G. Eliot, late of the Theological Seminary in Harvard University, had been "ordained according to the usage of our churches, to the work of the Gospel Ministry as an Evangelist, whenever Providence may open to him a field of labor."

It was not only natural but fitting that William Eliot should be ordained in Dr. Channing's church. At the time of the Channing Anniversary in 1879, he wrote to a friend: "Forty-five years ago in the Federal Street Church, with Dr. Channing in the pulpit, I was ordained as an Evangelist, and well remember his kindly words of parental sympathy. He was the pastor of my grandparents, and of my parents, and I have always regarded him as my own. No one can surpass me in profoundness of respect for his memory. He was great as a writer, as a preacher, as a thinker; above all, he was great in the purity and simplicity of his Christian life."

Before his ordination, a call from St. Louis had already come to William G. Eliot, Jr. He thus narrates the circumstances: "In June, 1834, Mr. Christopher Rhodes went to Boston (from St. Louis), partially for the purpose of finding some young man to spend the winter in St. Louis as a missionary preacher. Conferring with Rev. Henry Ware, he learned that a member of the class just graduated at Cambridge Divinity School had formed the idea of going to St. Louis on just

such an errand. This was a son of William G. Eliot, Esq., of Washington. . . . Mr. Eliot had already written to Mr. Rhodes, whose name was known to him through correspondence with his intimate friend, James Freeman Clarke, . . . but his letter had not reached St. Louis when Mr. Rhodes left. An interview between him and Mr. Rhodes led to a winter's engagement."

. . . "Early in October Mr. Eliot left his home in Washington, D. C., for the West, reaching Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, after three days and nights of stage travel. There he stayed a month, preaching four Sundays, and then took boat for Cincinnati, where Ephraim Peabody was the Unitarian minister. Thence to Louisville, where he remained over Sunday with Mr. Clarke; and after four days waiting for a boat, the river being very low, he came on to St. Louis, reaching that city after fourteen days of sand-bar voyage."

Whatever hesitation William Eliot felt in going to St. Louis as a missionary arose not so much from a desire that "the lines should be laid in pleasant places," as from a dread, natural to untried youth, that he was not fitted for the work he had undertaken. September 17, 1834, he wrote to Mr. Clarke from Washington: "From New York I hear (through Mr. Furness) that they think of inviting me; probably he has no ground for the opinion except the casual remarks of

individuals or the like. On the whole, it is better I should not be invited there. If I were, the case is plain that I must go, and I am not ready for such a place yet. Besides, it would be a scurvy treatment of the St. Louis people not to spend at least the winter with them."

Continuing, he thus expressed his sense of the responsibility of the work he had undertaken: "I daily become more sensible of my want of preparedness for St. Louis duties, but do not despair. There are a few great ideas of which I have a glimmering by which the world may be moved. . . . I believe in the omnipotent power of faith, because by faith we may become one with God and receive from Him power to do all things, or rather, perhaps, partake of His omnipotence."

Arrived in St. Louis, the duty of the moment left no time for inward misgivings. Mr. Eliot reached there on Friday, and as he afterwards related, was "cordially received by Mr. Rhodes and Mr. James Smith, whose homes became his home from that day onward." No time was wasted. Posters were immediately issued announcing that on the following Sunday, in Shepherd's schoolroom, opposite the court house, Unitarian preaching would be held.

For the first few Sundays the meetings were well attended. Unfortunately, however, a number of persons who came were under the impres-

sion that this was an anti-Christian movement, or at least in special antagonism to all other churches. When it was discovered that although Rev. Mr. Eliot's doctrinal opinions differed somewhat from those of other ministers, his faith in the essentials of religion was equally fervent, the attendance diminished, leaving a strong nucleus of earnest Christian believers, which was even then the seed of the future church. Gradually their number increased, and early in 1835 it was decided to build a house of worship.

In New England the Calvinism of the emigrant Puritans had been followed by a reaction in favor of a broader interpretation of religion. Massachusetts especially, according to John Fiske, on account of the ecclesiastical rigidity which limited the right of voting to church members, bred a strong opposition party disposed to liberal views. William Channing, the apostle of Unitarianism, had declared that the Scriptures must be interpreted in the light of reason. In New England his principle had been widely accepted by thinking people, but had yet scarcely influenced the more distant regions of the country. That Mr. Eliot encountered in St. Louis less opposition to his religious views than he had expected, is evident from a letter written by him to Dr. James Freeman, December 30, 1834. He wrote: "There is far less prejudice against us than I expected to find, or rather I should say the prejudices

are less stubborn than they generally are where our name has only been heard as a bugbear. Very many of the sternest Presbyterians, and the strictest Episcopalians and Methodists, have been to hear me, and if they are on the one hand disappointed in not finding very much to condemn, they are generally candid enough to acknowledge us to be better than they thought. This is all we can ask. If they will but hear before condemning, we cannot complain if they do disagree with us, or preach against us.

"The infidel party were on the eve of rejoicing at my coming here, as being a real coadjutor, but I am glad to say that they have already acknowledged their disappointment, and they herd us in the mass of those 'superstitious people,' the Christians. Their number is not large here, nor composed of respectable people, though there are crowds of those who keep entirely aloof from religion, and think that Christianity will largely bear examination. Of these we hope to gather some into our church; some of them even now seem favorably disposed.

"I have had no call from any of the clergymen of the place; . . . but on one occasion our Society was recognized as a Christian Society. . . . We shall have a church here, I am confident, before eighteen months have passed; at least we will keep that hope before us to excite us onward."

A month later, January 26, 1835, a society was

regularly organized under the name of "The First Congregational Society of St. Louis," and a movement started to raise funds for the erection of a church. It was decided that Rev. Mr. Eliot should go East to solicit assistance from the older societies, since he had evidently volunteered to do so. A letter from Mr. Christopher Rhodes, on behalf of the Society, accepting the tender of their pastor's services, is so kindly appreciative that it is here inserted. It is addressed: "Reverend and Dear Sir," and continues thus: "I am requested by the First Congregational Society of St. Louis to tender to you in their behalf their sincere thanks for the efforts made by you to make known and defend the Truths of the Christian Religion, and thereby afford the most efficient aid in establishing the doctrines which we hold. We are well aware of the great sacrifice made by you of comfort, of the society of kindred and friends, in thus coming to a land of strangers, and into a community of which you must have had but a very limited knowledge; and consider your arrival among us as of the last importance to the Society and the Community.

"Four years since, the word 'Unitarian' was hardly known in this city except as a term of reproach, but we now feel proud to say that the anticipation of the benefits resulting from your ministry have been more than realized. Many persons who previous to this event looked upon

the Religion of Christ as a matter of speculation, with suspicion, or with indifference, have, we believe, since been convinced that the Truths so ably advocated and expounded by you have come from the Most High, and many sincere Christians who conscientiously but ignorantly believed the advocates of Unitarian Christianity to be little better than infidels, and who had supposed the doctrines held by them to be of a dangerous and immoral tendency, have been convinced that, though differing in many respects from most of their Christian brethren, the important doctrines of Christianity as held by us have their foundation in reason and revelation.

"With these facts before us, the Society are convinced that the efforts to build in this city an altar for the worship of the True God have not been without effect, and hope by zeal and perseverance to cause the work so happily commenced, and to which you have contributed such important service, to progress.

"The Society, although few in numbers, look forward with confident expectation to a gradual increase, and believe by constant and judicious effort to be enabled soon to have a more suitable place for worship.

"You are well aware of the trouble and inconvenience to which the Society have been subjected by the want of a room suitable for a place of worship, and how much depends upon being

able to accommodate those who, during the period of your ministry, may have found it unpleasant and inconvenient to attend on account of the unsuitable accommodation, and that *that* difficulty cannot be remedied unless we are enabled to build for ourselves a suitable House of Worship.

"For this very desirable and necessary object, the Society feel under very great obligation to you for the prompt and generous tender of your services to obtain, if possible, assistance from our Eastern Brethren, and have accordingly directed me, as President of the Society, to empower you in their name to present to those favorably disposed towards us our prayer for sympathy and assistance, to receive such pecuniary aid as they may be disposed to give, and to take such other steps for the benefit of the Society as you may judge expedient.

"I am also desired by the Society to express to you their best wishes for a safe and pleasant journey, and a happy meeting with your friends, and that they most earnestly desire to have you return among us at as early a period as your convenience and the object of your journey will admit."

In accordance with his own suggestion, and the wishes of the Society, Mr. Eliot visited the Eastern cities. An appeal was made to churches in Boston and other New England communities, as also in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and

$3200 was thus obtained. Meantime, in St. Louis two lots had been purchased for the new church, and one was eventually sold at an advance of $3500 on the cost, which was of great advantage to the Society. It is written in the church records that "all the operations of the Society were peculiarly blessed by Providence at this early stage of proceedings," for if they "had delayed the purchase of the lots above named three months only, the purchase of either of them would have equaled the actual cost of both." The entire amount collected being deemed sufficient to justify the erection of a "House of Worship," the church was completed and dedicated October 29, 1836.

There still remained a debt of $4000 on the church building, and when in 1842 the increasing size of the congregation rendered it necessary to enlarge the church by one half, the debt was increased, until in 1846 it had grown to $11,000. Ten per cent. interest on this amount proved a heavy annual tax, difficult to obtain. With his usual decision in solving a dilemma, Mr. Eliot drew up a subscription paper for the "liquidation of the church debt," and the amount required was quickly subscribed.

One secret of Dr. Eliot's success in raising money for public objects was the confidence felt in his sound judgment, perfect disinterestedness, and wise use of means to accomplish a desired

end. Another was, that he always headed any subscription paper he presented, contributing to the fullest limit of his resources, although this often necessitated great self-denial if not privation. And his people responded! If he led, they followed, giving liberally in proportion to their means. Dr. Clarke said in a memorial sermon: "No other church in our denomination, not even the wealthy societies in New York and Boston, gave so largely and regularly for philanthropic and religious objects. This St. Louis Society was educated to giving. William Eliot once told me, in answer to a question, that his church annually gave to such objects about $30,000. . . . It had become a principle and a custom with them to have a sense of responsibility for the use of property, and this they had learned from the teaching and example of their pastor."

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. Eliot himself made the following statement in a sermon delivered August 18, 1861: "During the last ten years, this congregation of the Church of the Messiah has contributed, in various works of benevolence and charity, not less than the sum of $50,000 annually." How were such results achieved? Dr. Eliot himself answers the question. He tells us that almost concurrently with the organization of the Unitarian Society in St. Louis, in the winter of 1835–36, a charitable organization was formed, of which every one

became a member by the fact of becoming a member of the church. "Out of this combined membership, strengthened by the cordial and liberal coöperation of all members of the Society, large benefactions came, and a habit of liberal giving was formed."

In 1840 a Ministry at Large was established, and Rev. Charles Dall was chosen to fulfill its duties. As the public schools were just struggling into existence, a free school for the children of the poor was carried on in the basement rooms of the church. It was supported entirely by the Unitarian Society as a city mission. A Ladies' Industrial Society was also put in operation, and a small building erected next to the church for its use. Its principal design was to find employment for needlewomen and others. Systematic efforts were made for visiting the poor.

In November, 1841, by a more formal action of the church members, they resolved themselves into a charitable association, thereby practically making the two associations one and the same in everything except financial matters. Through this agency the work previously inaugurated was sustained and the ministry at large continued. Rev. Mr. Dall, Rev. Carlos Ward, Rev. Mr. De Lange, Rev. Mr. Staples, and Rev. T. L. Eliot filled this office at successive periods of time.

In 1848 Dr. Eliot, in writing to Mr. Ticknor

of Boston regarding the establishment of a healthy Unitarian Society at Galena, Illinois, thus rehearsed his own experience in accomplishing the same object in St. Louis: "In proportion to the need is the difficulty. For the first few years great discouragements must be expected. The expenses will be large, the means of contributors very small, and until success is quite certain very little public favor will be shown to the enterprise. In St. Louis at the end of three years I could not calculate upon an audience of more than twenty-five or thirty in pleasant weather. Our utmost exertions could only raise $1000 towards a house, and $350 for minister and other charges. Of course we could not have gone on without pecuniary aid from abroad, and I believe that if we had waited ten years before beginning our effort no better beginning could have been made. Two thirds of our strongest adherents have been made out of the foundation of the Society. We have now one of the most influential societies in the city, and number nearly two hundred communicants."

Thus had the earnestness and zeal of a few persons become a strong centralizing force in the building up of a Society. As honest and upright citizens, active in doing good, Unitarians were trusted and respected. As a Channing Unitarian, no more conservative exponent of the faith could have been found at that time than William Eliot;

yet in 1843 he, who had been ordained as an "Evangelist," was not included in a meeting of the "Protestant Evangelical" ministers.

An unfinished sermon, marked "never used," attests Mr. Eliot's sense of the illiberality of certain clergymen and religious societies who had shown a determination not to recognize the Unitarian Church and Society as a "Christian Fraternity," although constantly inviting them to unite in works of Christian benevolence, and to join in efforts to promote Christian truth. His dislike of controversy, and conviction of its uselessness and harm, doubtless influenced him in remaining silent; and the wisdom of such a course was afterwards apparent, since time brought recognition.

In the year 1849, when one tenth of the entire population of St. Louis died of cholera, the Unitarian faith proved its efficacy and power to sustain the dying and console the living; and no pastor was more untiring in his ministrations to the sick, more devoted and faithful throughout a trying ordeal, than the preacher whom some of his brethren had hesitated to recognize as "Evangelical," although the watchword of his life was allegiance to Christ.

In the year 1854, in recognition of work accomplished in the West, Harvard University conferred upon William Greenleaf Eliot the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

CHAPTER II

MINISTRY

William Greenleaf Eliot, minister and evangelist, came to St. Louis in November, 1834. In November, 1859, the First Congregational Church celebrated its Twenty-fifth Anniversary, and special services were held. In the sermon delivered upon that occasion, of which the notes are preserved, Dr. Eliot said: "Twenty-five years ago, after a prosperous voyage of fifteen days from Louisville, I landed on the river bank of St. Louis. It seemed a wild, unpromising adventure. Young and inexperienced [I came] to a city whose peculiar difficulties [I had not yet learned]. No one but myself had any expectations of success, although a few hoped. . . . Yet I will say this for myself, that I never had a doubt upon the subject. It never entered my head that failure was possible. [I was] determined to persevere three years, come what might, but my faith in the power of Christian truth was such that I felt sure of gaining foothold. Not exactly confidence in myself, but yet the conviction that persevering effort for Christ's sake could not be in vain. This confidence remains and grows strong every day."

In this same anniversary sermon Dr. Eliot alluded to his ignorance, when he came to St. Louis, of the peculiar difficulties he might have to encounter there. These were principally such as were incidental at that time to life in a newly settled Western city, although every such place differs in some respects from all others. Originally settled by the French, St. Louis had been under the dominion of both France and Spain. As a part of the Louisiana Purchase, Missouri was transferred to France for a short period in 1800, and ceded to the United States in 1803. Its population up to that time had been almost entirely French, with a slave contingent. After Missouri became American soil, emigrants, principally from Virginia and Kentucky, began moving with their slave property into the State.

In 1834 one third of the people of St. Louis were the descendants of the original French settlers. They were Catholic in religion, and among the most prominent people socially. Early St. Louis was kindly, hospitable, pleasure-loving, condoning customs and habits which later a more elevated public opinion condemned. Gambling was only too common, and drinking the rule. Every well-furnished sideboard, even in the banks, glittered with decanters and glasses. Dueling was not infrequent, and the code of honor entailed social disgrace on any gentleman who refused an encounter. In 1834 Mr. Eliot

wrote: "We had a duel here yesterday between two young fools, lawyers . . . neither hurt and will probably fight again. If I can do it incog. I mean to give them a basting in the way of the ridiculous."

Outside of the churches, there was as yet, in 1834, little organization of any kind. Everything waited the shaping hand, the informing spirit. Soon after Mr. Eliot reached St. Louis, there was established in the interest of the intellectual needs of the community an organization called the "Franklin Society." It was a literary society, suggestive of the lyceum of the New England towns. Beginning with forty members, it rapidly increased in numbers, and was incorporated.

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During the winter season there were debates and lectures delivered to "respectable audiences." Mr. Eliot was naturally interested in the society, and lectured before them on the occasion of their first anniversary. A committee was appointed "to express the thanks of that body to Mr. Eliot, and request a copy of the address for publication."

The subject of this discourse was in keeping with the object of the association, namely: "The obligation which rests upon the present generation to establish literary institutions in the West." Mr. Eliot's remarks on this subject are here quoted, as giving a faithful picture not only

of the constitution of society in early St. Louis, but in other newly settled Western communities. They present also a forecast of Mr. Eliot's own future work in the needed direction indicated.

Three classes of immigrants, he declared, had come to the West to live. There were first those who had left their old homes because they could not maintain a respectable standing in society there; they were either a dead weight or an active poison in the community.

Secondly, there were those who were brought West by a roving disposition, and the love of excitement. They were neither positively good nor positively bad, and seldom became useful members of the community. They did not add to the moral strength of society.

The third class of immigrants composed those who were fast becoming the major portion of the community, namely, the enterprising and industrious, who had came to the West to better themselves. These were "the bone and sinew of the West, who must give to society its form and character; the active men in the community, who must ultimately give the tone to public feeling, and set the standard of public morality." They were the substantial farmers, the successful merchants and mechanics of the city, men growing rich by honest and patient industry. As this class was daily increasing in proportion to the rest, some might think that society with its in-

terests could safely be left to take care of itself. Mr. Eliot did not believe that such was the case. "The motives," he said, "which chiefly actuate this better class of our community in locating themselves here, are such as to divert their minds from the best interests of society, namely, purity of public morals and feeling and the general diffusion of knowledge."

"The first settlers of some of the Eastern states," he continued, "came to this country with the express object of intellectual and religious freedom, and therefore their first thought was of religion and education. . . . But with the West it is very different. The grand motive which actuates all who come here is . . . to make money. The motive which has brought the vast majority of us here is not liberty of conscience, not intellectual improvement, not the desire to do good, but to better our own condition, to make ourselves rich and influential members of society. . . . And in the universality of this motive . . . I discern the greatest danger which threatens our ultimate prosperity, . . . to which the West is peculiarly exposed; that religion and learning and morality and education, and everything which makes a people truly prosperous, shall all be forgotten, all made to bow to one god, mammon."

To these needs of a new community, to religion, learning, morality, education, and philanthropy, Mr. Eliot devoted himself during a

residence of fifty-three years in St. Louis, and the dominant note of the Franklin Society address, the subordination of the pursuit of wealth to higher aims, was heard in many of his later public utterances.

Although William Eliot, Senior, had acquiesced in his son's decision to begin his pastorate in the far West, he had felt many misgivings as to the wisdom of such a course. He realized what would be the loneliness of his life in St. Louis for some time to come, and while declaring that in the natural course of events his son should marry and establish a home wherever the field of his labor might be, he warned him that he could hardly expect any lady among his old acquaintances at home to leave kindred and friends to marry him and go to St. Louis to live. The older man little knew what was in the mind of the younger, who seems to have felt slight concern. Doubtless his choice was already made, and, knowing well the young girl he afterwards married, he felt sure that with her love and duty would outweigh minor considerations.

In June, 1837, William G. Eliot, Jr., was married to Miss Abby A. Cranch, daughter of William Cranch, Judge of the United States District Court in Washington, D. C. The bride was but twenty years of age at the time of her marriage, but she felt no hesitation in accompanying her husband to the far West; and in

September Mr. and Mrs. Eliot started for St. Louis. As Mrs. Eliot herself declared, she was very inexperienced, but quite wide-awake as to her future home and her husband's prospects as a missionary. From the first she sympathized with his purposes, and was equally ready to sacrifice her own wishes and comforts to the well-being of others. Without her coöperation and aid his pastoral work would have been less effective, and it was due to her rigid economy and self-denial that he was able to contribute so constantly and so generously to public measures and individual needs.

Mrs. Eliot's experience on her first journey to St. Louis, as afterwards related by her, is interesting as illustrating the mode of travel in those days. Mr. Eliot and she went from Washington to Philadelphia in the steam-cars, which had been running only a few weeks, and they were "nearly shaken to pieces." They sailed to New York by steamer, and thence by the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and across Lake Erie to Cleveland. They started from Cleveland to Columbus, Ohio, on a canal-boat, but a broken lock necessitated their transference to an old broken-down stage-coach, driven by a colored man equally ancient and historic. After riding all night they reached Cincinnati in time for the St. Louis steamer. As the river was low and full of sand-bars, its usual condition when not inundating the country, they

were two weeks in reaching their destination, and nearly ran out of provisions. Yet as Mrs. Eliot cheerfully declared, they were "young and strong and full of hope, and hardships were easily borne." And indeed, in comparison with such an eventful journey, how tame and monotonous seems our present comfortable and speedy mode of travel!

Arrived in St. Louis, Mrs. Eliot found the smoke and mud even worse than she had imagined. Mr. Eliot and she went to live for a while with their kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Rhodes, at the corner of Seventh Street, beyond which, besides the house occupied by Mr. Lucas, there were none except a few farmhouses, and the woods were thick. On the south they could look over to Chouteau's Pond, then a large body of water extending east and west for nearly two miles, and dividing the city north and south. It was surrounded by shanties where the poor gathered to wash their clothes in the clear water in primitive style. "At that time," said Mrs. Eliot in narrating her experiences, "St. Louis was not a healthy place. There was no sewer system, and cellars were full of water; chills and fever everywhere, and scarcely a poor family without some one in bed. Visiting among the sick and poor kept us very busy, and dark streets and muddy ways made life pretty hard for those of us charitably inclined." Parenthetically she

observes that "there were few policemen and very bad boys."

"However," Mrs. Eliot continued, "matters soon improved, and there was a bright side; for the absence of formality among the inhabitants, and the kindness of neighbors in sickness or trouble of any kind, made us seem almost as one family." Then, too, there were old Washington friends in St. Louis, General and Mrs. Ashley, General Bates, Colonel and Mrs. Gantt, and the Benton family.

Such was St. Louis in 1837. Life for those who had removed thither from older communities was devoid of many comforts and conveniences, but the people were kind, hospitable, and friendly.

Early St. Louis was a city of splendid possibilities, yet to be developed. The young minister led a full and busy life. Although his marriage had given him sympathetic and devoted companionship, he must often have longed for the presence of old friends, co-workers in the Unitarian denomination, who could appreciate the difficulties to be encountered, and give him sympathy and counsel in his labors. With almost pathetic entreaty he begged his old friend, James Freeman Clarke, to visit him; but neither one of these two busy men, Mr. Clarke or Mr. Eliot, could well obey the promptings of the heart, and leave his post of duty.

In the first sermon which William Eliot

preached after his arrival in St. Louis, he declared that the object of a church organization should be threefold: First, self-improvement, self-education in morality and religion, and the formation of Christian character; secondly, usefulness by works of kindness and benevolence, charity and public spirit; thirdly, the diffusion of Christian truth.

These objects were ever in Dr. Eliot's mind, and always the formation of Christian character preceded everything else in importance. He preached to his congregation not merely as to an audience, a body of people, but as individual men and women, each with his own peculiar needs and temptations. After the second church was built he wrote in his journal: "Now I shall have time and opportunity to look more closely to that which I hope I never have neglected, the religious interests of the Society. I must direct all my efforts to the accomplishment of the Christian character in every individual, and the furtherance of charitable action."

Mr. Eliot's sermons were almost exclusively on ethical and religious topics. The main thing, he declared, was "the faithful preaching of the old principles and doctrines of religion, — Temperance, Justice, Love." This would act closely enough to the consciences of those who were faithful hearers. Occasionally their attention should be invited to the application of these

principles to the evils of the day, — Intemperance, Slavery, War, etc. Polemical preaching was very distasteful to Mr. Eliot. When on one occasion, in a public discourse, the Unitarians were attacked by a clergyman of narrow, sectarian views, and some of the members of his church urged him to reply, he did so, but wrote in his journal: "Preached sermon according to notice to a house crowded; a great many could not get in. . . . The sermon will attract attention, but I am sorry that I preached it. 'Let the potsherds of the earth strive together.'" Dr. Eliot always believed, with others of his denomination, that the greatest work of a rational faith lay in overlooking rather than emphasizing sectarian differences, and in liberalizing and influencing other forms of belief. He desired that good men of all denominations should unite in Christian effort, and it is worth recording that this same minister to whom he was called upon to reply at this time, later sought his assistance and advice in a non-sectarian movement.

No one who attended Mr. Eliot's church was ever intentionally overlooked or forgotten. As far as possible he sought to become, and was, personally acquainted with every member of his flock. In one of his letters to Mr. Clarke he wrote that there was not a single worldly-minded woman or intemperate man among his church members. The latter statement he could not always repeat,

and there were occasions when, on his knees in his study, he prayed with those who were sorely tempted by the love of stimulants.

As to the *charitable* work of the Unitarian Church, it was not entirely limited to organized effort. In addition to directing this, Mr. Eliot was custodian of a "Poor Fund," to which his parishioners gave without solicitation, generously and freely, such sums as they could afford or felt moved to give. He himself also constantly contributed from his own means, twice adding to the fund by a course of lectures delivered at two different periods after his return from abroad.

Frequent and many were the calls upon his time, and often he expressed regret that he had so little opportunity for reading or writing anything of lasting value. "My time," he declared, "is all broken in little pieces."

On an average he made five or six calls a day, and the following is a memorandum of duties requiring immediate attention: A mother is to be assisted in providing for her ten-year-old son, very bad for his age; the father is to be spoken to about his intemperance; a place at the county farm must be provided for an indigent old woman; the people at Quincy are to be aided in the purchase of a church lot; a young lady desires assistance in starting a school; a young man, to whom Mr. Eliot loaned ten dollars two weeks previously, wanted more. "Etc., etc., etc.," he adds

at the close of a memorandum which will remind many other ministers of their own experience in such matters.

The effect of overwork upon their minister became apparent to Mr. Eliot's parishioners, and in a note dated April 30, 1839, written by Wayman Crow, and signed by him and many others, Mr. Eliot was informed that the members of the congregation had seen with much solicitude and anxiety the effect upon their minister of his earnest and unremitting toil. They requested him in the coming summer to accompany his family to the East, promising that the board of trustees would supply the pulpit in his absence.

Again, in a second communication dated April, 1845, and signed by many of the same names and others, Mr. Eliot was urged to use timely precaution and take immediate rest, that his health and strength might be adequate to his future ministerial labors in the church. This advice seems not to have been acted upon until the summer of 1846, when he left St. Louis, and in February, 1847, set sail from New York in the "good ship St. Nicholas," a sailing vessel. His congenial friend and parishioner, Mr. William Glasgow, accompanied him. They made an extensive tour through France, Switzerland, Italy, and the British Isles. Mr. Eliot kept a very full diary of his experiences abroad, illustrated with such pictures as he was able to obtain. He greatly enjoyed the sea voyage

and was apparently never weary of watching the changing aspects of the ocean. "O my God," he wrote, "how wonderful are thy works, how beautiful the garments in which we see thee! None know thee who have not seen thee here."

Mr. Eliot returned from abroad in September of the same year. He spent some time in the East, visiting Boston and other cities. While in Boston he received a call to King's Chapel, one of the oldest Unitarian churches of that city. Only a strong feeling of duty, the sense of his obligations to his parish in St. Louis, prevented his acceptance. After he reached St. Louis he wrote: "The position offered to me (in Boston) is very honorable, and might be made very influential. . . . My personal friendships there are very warm, and, more than all, an undefined attraction in the air of Boston and Cambridge draws me very strongly; so that duty was a deciding motive, and, to say truth, I have felt the sacrifice very deeply. . . . But now that I am here, in this thriving city, and find how very cordially I am received, and see what a society I shall, by the blessing of Providence, be able to gather, I am abundantly content, and believe that both myself and family will be very happy here." In the light of subsequent events Dr. Eliot must have been glad that he decided as he did. He remained where his labors, and those of other devoted men, were to be greatly needed.

At that period in the older cities of the East, earnest men and their measures were upborne on the wave of sympathetic enthusiasm. In the West they must *create* the public opinion and sympathy which would later assist them. The difficulties and achievements of the lonely workers in the West were scarcely understood and appreciated in the East. After reading the life of Dr. Channing, Mr. Eliot wrote: "I cannot help being struck by the great difference between the life of a Boston minister and my own. There the constant help and incitement of friends and of books, here a lonely working. Every measure for which I work, I must originate. My library is almost nothing, and if it were more, pastoral care consumes all my time."

It was not long before Mr. Eliot's ministration within and without his church was to be greatly needed in St. Louis. The year 1849 was the most disastrous in the history of St. Louis, a year of pestilence, fire, and flood. At the very beginning of the year, in January, Asiatic cholera made its appearance. The origin of the disease was very apparent, and demanded quarantine regulations, which were not for some time enforced. In an article published in one of the daily papers in June, appeared this statement: "It is a well-known fact that nearly every New Orleans boat that lands at our wharf brings hundreds of foreign emigrants taken directly from the ships at New

Orleans, in which they have been pent up for weeks or months — in the same clothing, without the opportunity of washing or purifying their stores, and in this condition they are brought here, as much or more crowded, and as completely deprived of the means of cleanliness as upon the ship, and in this condition they are scattered through the city." It was suggested then that some method of quarantine be enforced. No wonder that three fourths of the mortality from cholera was confined to the emigrants themselves.

Dr. Eliot's church suffered severely, yet, as he said, it was "regularly kept open for its usual religious services, and no one having either direct or indirect claims upon it was permitted to suffer for want of proper ministration or for decent burial." One of the first victims in the city, Haven Henderson, was a member of the church, and his funeral took place from there in January, 1849. At the communion service a few months later, the names were read of nine church members who had died since the previous communion day. "It was a year of fearful trial," Mr. Eliot said at a later period, "and the value of Christian faith, with a steadfast reliance upon God's providence, was fully proved."

Slowly and surely, from the beginning of the epidemic, it claimed its victims in ever increasing numbers. Mr. Eliot wrote in April: "I keep busy, but do nothing with a relish — the urgency of the

moment is needed for each action." And again, in May, he wrote: "All plans were made and notice given that I would go to Chicago for a week or two's absence. But Monday the cholera was evidently increasing so fast that I feared to go." Yet he continued thus: "I must present to my people the claims of Meadville Theological School with hope of raising some six or eight hundred dollars for them." On account of the continued prevalence of cholera, this appeal was not made, and on Tuesday, May 15, Mr. Eliot made this entry in his journal: "Cholera increases—was busy from morning till night visiting the sick."

May 17, at nine o'clock in the evening, a fire broke out in the steamer White Cloud moored at the Levee, and quickly spread to other boats, twenty-three of which were consumed. It extended up into the best business portion of the city; fifteen blocks of buildings were consumed or injured, and property to the value of five million dollars destroyed. To a city of the size of St. Louis, the loss seemed almost irreparable, and the presence of the pestilence added to the horror. Dr. Eliot recorded that on the night of the fire he was up all night getting sick people from the Monroe House to their own safe abode. It was a fearful fire!

Soon after the fire the river rose to an unprecedented height, overflowing the low lands; and heavy rains fell, making some parts of the city almost uninhabitable. This hastened the spread

of disease. At that time there was no system of drainage in St. Louis.

During the entire continuance of the epidemic Mr. Eliot was under intense physical and nervous strain. He went from the bedside of the dying to the funeral service of the dead, with little opportunity for rest. On Sunday, June 17, he wrote: "Things are very gloomy and becoming worse; but one subject engrosses all minds. In one family five persons have died since Wednesday, and like cases I hear of daily. We keep well, with careful, cheerful, and prayerful hearts." On Tuesday he recorded for himself a comparatively quiet day, yet he went twice to visit Mr. C., who died at one o'clock. At seven in the evening he christened a baby whose mother had died, and at eight o'clock went to a school directors' meeting. At half past nine he received a message from Mrs. G., whose husband he had previously visited. He found her alone with Dr. G., who was not expected to live through the night. The neighbors were all sick, and he persuaded the tired wife to sleep, while he remained during the night with the sick man. These people lived in a small one-story brick house, on low ground, with a bed on the floor. With careful nursing Dr. G. got through the night very well; and when Mr. Eliot left him, there was hope of his recovery. He returned to his home in the morning, and sending a physician to the sick man he had left, went to

bed and slept three hours, when he was summoned to Mrs. H. and her child, both ill. At three in the afternoon she sent for him a second time, and as soon as he saw her he "knew that she must die." He spent most of the afternoon with her, and returned in the evening. At midnight he was again summoned to her bedside, and remained until three in the morning. On coming home he met at his door a gentleman who told him his next neighbor, Mrs. C., was very ill. At half after seven the previous evening she had been to Mr. Eliot's door. He had discouraged her from returning to nurse a cholera patient. At nine o'clock she was violently ill, and at half after four in the morning, when he reached her bedside, she was in a dying condition.

And so the record continues. Mr. Eliot's ministrations were not confined to his own parishioners — he went to any one who sent for him. In this season of trial St. Louis had reason to be proud of her citizens. "Many hundreds of persons of both sexes," wrote Mr. Eliot, "devoted themselves to the care of the sick. There was no panic. Very few were left to suffer unrelieved. The clergy, equally Catholics and Protestants, kept faithfully at their posts, and the physicians worked night and day. The greatest mortality in one day was two hundred and five."

On Sunday, July 8, Mr. Eliot preached on "Suffering considered as Discipline." Many

clergymen had proclaimed that God's anger was in the pestilence and fire, a point of view not entirely obsolete, from which Mr. Eliot very decidedly dissented.

On Sunday, the 22d of July, the number of deaths from cholera the previous week was two hundred and ninety-nine, and it was announced that the epidemic was abating. On that day Mr. Eliot wrote: "I am inexpressibly shocked today to hear of the death of Rev. Mr. Vancourt. Nothing has brought me so strongly to a sense of the danger to which I have been and am exposed, or of the mercy of God by which I have so far been preserved. He came to see me ten days since, and we talked over our several trials and labors. He has been very faithful as a pastor, and very useful. . . . Yesterday at four P. M. he was apparently well, and died at three this morning. It is a further warning to me, and as far as duty will allow, I shall take it to myself.

"As to the theory of contagion: I have tried it, I think, very thoroughly, not only in the ordinary exposure of nursing and doctoring, but sometimes I have held the hand of the suffering, an hour at a time, throughout the whole sickness, conversing with him when so feeble that in order to hear the words I have had to lean over and breathe the same breath, even in the last hours of life, — and after death, in kneeling near the coffin, have incurred the further risk of post

mortem contagion. This over and over again, by night and by day, when tired and unwell myself, but without harm."

Living as he did in the shadow of death day after day, Mr. Eliot had previously written: "If I am taken away, I leave my own affairs in good condition. My church also is in good order, and would prosper, I think, even without me. My wife and children would find friends everywhere, and a helper in God. Yet I pray to be spared to them."

The first week in August there were only thirty-four deaths from cholera, yet there was still much sickness. Mr. Eliot wrote: "When will it all end? I do now so long for freedom from care and anxiety that I am almost sick at heart." On the last day of July he had counted the children over whom he had some degree of supervision, and there were *twenty-six* besides his own. The responsibilities thus incurred, in some cases, extended over a period of years.

The second week in August there were but twelve deaths from cholera, and the end of the pestilence seemed near. Out of a population of about sixty thousand, nearly one tenth had succumbed to the prevailing epidemic. Mr. Eliot notes that under all the accumulated trials of that year, the business of the city had gone quietly on. "The citizens had borne their own burden without asking aid from abroad, and declined

what was offered. . . . The church and society came out of the trial as men and women always do come out of trials if well and bravely endured, stronger, more vigorous, more self-reliant, and more hopeful than ever before."

In a public address, delivered in 1882, referring to the year 1849, Dr. Eliot said: "Such a period of trial, thank God, is never likely to return. In those days, by reason of undrained streets and stagnant pools and accumulated filth, and the use of well water made poisonous by the filterings of vaults and cellars, St. Louis was a proverb of unhealthiness. Taught by a hard experience, a good system of sewerage was established, and an abundant supply of wholesome if not clear water was obtained, . . . and now St. Louis stands . . . among the three or four healthiest cities of the world."

September 4, 1849, Mr. Eliot left St. Louis on an "indefinite excursion." "How far I shall go is uncertain," he wrote. "My mind must have entire relief from ordinary cares in preparation for the winter's campaign." He was then at Tremont, Illinois, where he had "spent four days, preached five times, and on Sunday afternoon organized a church;" from which it appears that although Mr. Eliot left home for *rest,* he merely varied the direction of his activity.

In the first sermon he preached after arriving in St. Louis, Mr. Eliot asserted, as already stated,

that one of the objects of a church organization was the "diffusion of Christian truth." As he was reappointed in June, 1848, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the natural inference is that he had previously occupied that position. So interested was he in the establishment in the West of churches of a liberal faith that, whether officially or unofficially, he would in any case have been a laborer in the cause; and this more in the interest of religion and morality in general, than solely for denominational reasons. Dogma was then more rigid, and those who rejected it, without an acceptance of more liberal views, frequently became skeptics in religion. In the letter to Mr. Ticknor of Boston previously alluded to regarding the establishment of a Unitarian church at Galena, Illinois, Mr. Eliot declared that he wished there should be a liberal church in that town, more for the sake of the townspeople themselves than because he desired the extension of the number of Unitarian churches, since "bigotry on the one side, and skepticism on the other, abounded to an unusual degree there."

Mr. Eliot was much interested in the success of the Divinity School at Meadville, Pennsylvania. He prepared the notes of a missionary sermon, whose delivery was delayed on account of the prevalence of cholera, as was also the raising of a contribution for the school from his congregation.

On the trip above referred to, he not only spent four days at Tremont, but drove over to Peoria; and, "finding the demand urgent, concluded to remain two days." While at Peoria he "made arrangements for purchase of lot and erection of chapel." Thence he went to La Salle and took the canal-boat for Chicago, along the old historic "carry" of the early explorers, now the "great drainage canal." In Chicago he found the church affairs of the "First Unitarian Church" in great confusion.

Apparently the church was without debt, but devoid of income. He drew up a plan whereby an income would accrue from a higher revaluation and taxation of pews, according to their relative value, and submitted it to the "gentlemen of the Society." He wrote that the plan would probably be adopted.

From Chicago he crossed Lake Michigan to New Buffalo, and there took the cars for Detroit. "The first sight of steam locomotion in two years was very pleasant." At Buffalo he took tea with Rev. Mr. Hosmer, and talked over with him the prospects of Chicago, Milwaukee, and Meadville. During most of the trip from Buffalo to Boston he was quite ill, but at the end of his entire journey he had read Lyell's "Second Visit to the United States," and Voltaire's "Charles XII." in French.

He visited Boston, where he preached, and

also New Bedford, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, in which latter city he spent ten days at his father's home; and from there he addressed a letter to Dr. Parkman, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He gave an account of his labors as a missionary since the 1st of June, a period of three months. From the report it appears that in that length of time he had held five religious services in the immediate vicinity of St. Louis, and fifteen in other places, of which four were held in Missouri and eleven in Illinois. The distance traveled had been eight hundred miles. The subjects of discourse had been of "directly practical nature, with no further allusion to controverted doctrines than is unavoidable in a faithful ministration of the gospel." "Such subjects," he wrote, "are by far the most acceptable to the audiences gathered in the small towns and villages where I preach. There is altogether too much of what is called doctrinal preaching in the West, and too little of that which addresses itself to men simply as sinners, and as believers in Jesus Christ." Mr. Eliot had "seldom less than one hundred hearers of all sects;" and "warm assurances were uniformly given of the acceptableness of his services, together with invitations for their renewal." He had found no obstacle thrown in his way by sectarian zeal, but everywhere a disposition to receive kindly what was kindly meant.

Dr. Eliot's friend, Dr. Heywood of Louisville, in a memorial sermon, delivered in 1887, referred thus to his labors as a missionary: "To him, with his clear eye and large soul, the opportunities, the spiritual needs and demands of the great West, could not but be ever present; nor was he at any time deaf to its Macedonian cry for moral and religious help. He had been ordained, not as the minister of a single church, but as an evangelist, and the ordination had, as it proved, singular significance and fitness. He was what he was ordained to be, — a bearer far and near of good tidings, the best tidings. He became not formally, not professedly, but really, the Unitarian bishop — apostle rather — to that wide region. To Alton, Tremont, Peoria, Quincy, Shelbyville, in Illinois; to Burlington and Davenport in Iowa; to Hannibal, St. Joseph, Columbia, in Missouri; to St. Paul, Minnesota; to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and to many another place whence the call came, — he was ready to go whenever going was possible to him; and wherever he went he was gratefully welcomed as minister, teacher, adviser, friend. Friend indeed he proved — not in word only and cheering presence, but often, as in Milwaukee, in substantial money aid from himself and his generous parishioners."

Of Dr. Eliot's first visit to Milwaukee, the daughter of one of the early members of the

Unitarian Church there thus wrote: "It was in the summer, June or July, of 1856. There was a conference in Chicago, and Mr. Abram Clarke, brother of Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who was living in Milwaukee, attended. He had formerly been a parishioner of Dr. Eliot in St. Louis, and returned to Milwaukee (with Dr. Eliot) after the conference, to draw together the Unitarians for a service on Sunday. They sent word to my father and mother that they were coming, and early on Sunday morning arrived by boat from Chicago. Meanwhile we had sent word to all the Unitarian families, and altogether about thirty people met in our parlor on that Sunday morning. Dr. Eliot occupied a very beautiful carved chair, which has ever since been associated with his name in our family, and there was a simple service, devotional exercises, and then a short address.

"Then — without any previous talk — Dr. Eliot asked for a sheet of paper, and wrote on it: 'Subscriptions towards founding a church in Milwaukee, to be called the "Church of the Redeemer," William G. Eliot — $500.' It was a complete surprise, and stirred the people amazingly, — the fact that a stranger should so generously start a subscription, — and every one responded according to his means, as liberally as possible, so that when the paper had been around the room there was $6500 pledged. In

the afternoon Dr. Eliot went with some of the gentlemen to select a site, which was purchased, and afterwards built upon.

"Dr. Eliot left Milwaukee the next day. In later years he returned several times to preach. I remember his fine presence and the earnest expression of his beautiful eyes, and his smile that had not only sweetness but a certain intensity also. I cannot describe it. . . . I regarded him with awe and great respect, and trod gently when in his presence, shrinking when he spoke to me. . . . I remember well the strong impression made by his personality."

Mr. Eliot reached home November 3, 1849, after an absence of two months, which was hardly sufficient time for complete recuperation. However, he went bravely to work. On Thanksgiving Day he preached a sermon suitable to the occasion. "The past year," he said, "had been one of great affliction. Those who were spared had occasion for thankfulness in the possession of life and health, which gave them time for more complete preparation for death, and for the continued service of God. They should also be thankful that they remained for their families' sake. All had reason for gratitude in the testimony of the dead to the sufficiency of religion. Of their own church members who had died, nearly all were ready to go. Some of them were of their best. Their memory was peaceful

and blessed, and this was a source of great happiness. The living had been able for the most part to fulfill their duty to the dead. No city in the world would have behaved better under the circumstances than St. Louis." Thus, with a tribute alike to the dead and the living, Mr. Eliot urged continuance in well-doing.

As early as January, 1849, Mr. Eliot had begun considering in his own mind the necessity for a new and more commodious house of worship. It is recorded that at an evening meeting several hundred persons could not gain admission. He wrote that one of his plans for the year was the erection of a new church; that he was getting it talked about, and that it met with general favor. Estimates of expenses were made, but the outbreak of cholera, and the "great fire," delayed action for a year. After his return, Sunday, December 9, Mr. Eliot presented the matter to his congregation in a sermon in which he advised the erection of a more commodious "house of worship." About one third of those who were properly members of the Society, he declared, could not obtain seats except by favor. For these persons, and for those who might become members were accommodations provided for them, he urged suitable provision.

Arrangements were immediately made for the accomplishment of this plan. "It was proposed

and undertaken," wrote Mr. Eliot, "as a thank-offering to God, and also as a provision for future growth and usefulness. Few undertakings have ever been entered upon with greater disinterestedness or carried through to completion with greater readiness, every one doing his best, than this building of the church of which the corner-stone was laid July 1, 1850, at the corner of Ninth and Olive streets."

Previous to this event, under date of March 18, 1850, in a tremulous, uncertain hand, appears this entry in Mr. Eliot's journal: "By some singular affection which is a sort of paralysis of the muscles of the right arm, I am losing the faculty of writing. It has been coming on me for some time, and now I cannot write my name without difficulty, so that I must learn to write with my left hand. From what it comes I cannot guess, unless from the exertions of mind and body last summer. Perhaps it is only the first indication that a constitution naturally feeble is about to give way. However it may be, it has not come from any imprudence of which I am aware; and though it cripples me very much, I must be content to do the best I can. It is particularly a disappointment to me, as I had expected to write a great deal this spring and summer; but after fighting hard against it for six months, I am obliged to see the truth. Now all I have to do is to use the hand that is left. So that the evil

stops with one arm, it will be well, but of this I have some fear."

From this time, for several years, Mr. Eliot was obliged to employ an amanuensis to write his sermons, although in ordinary correspondence he wrote with his left hand. He required a long period of rest, but remained at his post until the close of the year 1850, when he went abroad a second time, leaving his family at the old Cranch homestead, Quincy, Massachusetts. He returned in October, 1851. "Only too thankful to be once more at home among my own people," he wrote. "It has been a long, long year, and is the last of my traveling either for pleasure or health, I hope."

On the first Sunday morning after his return, he preached in the chapel of the new church, thereafter to be known as the "Church of the Messiah" instead of the "First Congregational Church." This church was formally dedicated December 7, 1851, although not entirely completed until a year later. It was large and commodious, as in addition to the floor space there were galleries extending around three sides of the building, giving a seating capacity for twelve hundred persons. On the day of dedication the church was filled to overflowing.

As usual in such cases, the building erected far exceeded in cost the original estimates. Mr. Eliot himself found it necessary to complete the

payment of his subscription by giving a course of lectures on his European travels. The lectures were well attended and netted over five hundred dollars.

Before the completion of the building a meeting was held to consider a debt of fifty thousand dollars soon due. Twenty persons were present, and so large a part of the amount required was pledged by generous donors, that the entire obligation was met on the completion of the church, thenceforth free from debt.

The ten years preceding the Civil War were the most prosperous in the history of the Church of the Messiah. The large edifice was almost invariably well filled, sometimes even to overflowing, with a large, influential, and thinking congregation, not particularly wealthy, but conspicuous for liberal giving. That the Church of the Messiah, like every other institution in St. Louis, should suffer from the general disorganization incident to internecine strife during the war period was inevitable. This will be considered in a succeeding chapter.

The work of the members of the Church of the Messiah as a charitable organization was meantime not neglected. In 1856 Mr. Eliot started a subscription for the purchase of a house and lot, to be fitted up as a temporary home for children, and a place for the permanent establishment of a ministry at large. The amount required was

quickly subscribed, and the Mission Free School has existed ever since, supported principally by the interest on an endowment fund contributed by church members. In the year 1902–03, two hundred and sixty-eight children were admitted as inmates, with a daily average of forty-two.

The Mission Free School became a centre of organized charity and active philanthropy, and began to be regarded, in the absence of any public system of relief, almost as a public city institution. At intervals a "Poor Fund" was raised in the city, and distributed by committees in the different wards. Mr. Carlos Ward, then minister at large of the Church of the Messiah, served on such a committee. In one of the Catholic papers he was accused of having discriminated against Catholics in the use of a "Poor Fund," to which persons of all denominations had contributed. In a published reply Dr. Eliot, after acknowledging that Mr. Ward was one of the distributors of the "Poor Fund," declared that but a small part of the relief he had given came from that source; and that he had acted principally as the almoner of funds contributed for his mission work by the members of the Church of the Messiah, amounting in one year to four thousand dollars. As to discrimination, the records showed that four fifths of the recipients of the money had been Catholics.

On another occasion an article appeared, in one of the evening papers, requesting that Mr.

Ward favor the writer with an account of the proposed operation of the City Mission for the coming winter, as there were "vast numbers of the poor already crying aloud for assistance." Dr. Eliot replied that the Mission House of the Church of the Messiah was supported by the congregation of that church, and was not a city institution. "Its special design," he asserted, "is to rescue children and young persons from vice and beggary, to educate them, and find for them permanent homes. It also gives shelter and relief to homeless persons so far as it can. Last night there were twenty-seven women and children thus housed and fed. There are at this time, also, a hundred children in the industrial school, which is a prominent feature of the Mission House. Out-of-door relief is given to a limited extent. . . . The monthly expenditure is now considerably over five hundred dollars, and the burden is already greater than can be easily borne. A large number of the daily applicants (on Wednesday there were nearly sixty) are now sent away unrelieved."

This letter was published December 9, 1859. The following winter, 1860–61, the St. Louis Provident Association was organized. Mr. James E. Yeatman was elected president, and the Rev. Carlton A. Staples, at that time minister at large of the Church of the Messiah, became vice-president. Even then the extensive district lying

between Market Street and Franklin Avenue, and extending as far west as Fourteenth Street, was left in charge of the "Boys' Industrial Home and Mission House,[1] supported by the Church of the Messiah, which proposed to relieve destitute families living within those limits." Truly there remained still a wide circle of beneficence. Of this work, Rev. Mr. Staples, as superintendent of the Mission House, remained in charge until soon after the outbreak of the Civil War, when he resigned his connection with the Church of the Messiah to become chaplain of a regiment.

"The principal work and influence of the Church of the Messiah," wrote Dr. Eliot in a historical sketch, "would need to be sought, not in a denominational direction, but through its individual members in all its various directions of philanthropy, education, charity, institutions of reform and other enterprises for public benefit. Its own supporters have never felt that they were engaged in a mere sectarian work, and have held this as secondary and subordinate to the general good."

[1] As a feature of the charity work inaugurated in 1841, the Boys' Industrial School was established, and successfully maintained until 1856, when it was succeeded by the Mission Free School, which was conducted upon a broader basis.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION — PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Zealous as was William Eliot in the performance of what are usually considered the duties of the ministry, he gave them a wide interpretation. His sympathies were too broad to be confined within denominational limits, his energies too active to be restricted entirely to pastoral work. He went as a pioneer to the West, with a desire of assisting in the foundation and establishment of its future great institutions, religious, philanthropic, and educational. He recognized the danger to which a new community is exposed from the pursuit of wealth exclusive of nobler ambitions, and declared that active efforts and individual initiative were necessary factors in the attainment of high social ideals. In the address before the Franklin Society previously alluded to, he used, in closing, these words: "This, therefore, is the point to which we have come. The influences that are needed to advance the true interests of society must be provided by the exertion — the individual, active exertion — of such members of the community as are awake to the dangers threatened. They who value literature

and religion, and feel the importance of education and morality, must come forward and establish institutions by which public opinion may be elevated, public feeling and taste purified, and the community saved from forgetting that there is something real in the world besides money; that there are intellectual pleasures which money cannot buy, and intellectual and moral wants that money cannot satisfy.

"To this end every good institution will contribute, whether it is in the department of religion, of morality, of education, or of general literature."

These words indicate the direction and scope of Mr. Eliot's future work, which was to include whatever tended to the creation and satisfaction of the higher wants and needs of a community. His interest in education was secondary only to his zeal in his chosen vocation of a preacher of the gospel. As early as 1843 he was one of four or five gentlemen who met together to establish the Academy of Science in St. Louis. He believed that popular education, the instruction of the masses, should be part of the foundation of the social structure upon which higher education might rear its loftier pinnacles. His first efforts were directed towards improving and strengthening the public school system of St. Louis. The creation of a great university for the West later occupied his time and thought. Every year brings his ideal nearer realization.

When Mr. Eliot came to St. Louis in 1834, there were no public free schools in that city, although since 1812 there had been a public school fund, the existence of which had its origin in the old French colonial customs of the early settlers of St. Louis, who held certain lands in common, as a grant from the royal domain. This land was inclosed and divided into strips of equal width, one or more of which, according to their ability to cultivate the property, was assigned to each family.

When Spain took possession of the territory west of the Mississippi, these grants were confirmed to the settlers, and again by the United States, according to Act of Congress in 1812, when "all common field lots, inhabited, cultivated, or possessed prior to the twentieth day of December, 1803," were guaranteed to the holders.

Through the wisdom and public spirit of Thomas F. Riddick, a citizen of St. Louis, who knew that there were certain of these common field lots for which no rightful owner could be found, a clause was inserted in the Act of 1812, providing that such lots "not rightly owned or claimed by private individuals, or reserved by the President for military purposes," should be set aside for the support of schools in the old French villages and towns, among which was included St. Louis. So interested was Colonel Riddick in the success of this measure, that he rode all the

way to Washington on horseback, and succeeded in effecting the desired legislation. Thus was a perpetual school fund created. By vote of the citizens of St. Louis, a small additional income accrued to the public schools, from one tenth of the proceeds of the sale of the "Common," a tract of land originally used as a public pasture and wood-lot.

The first school board was organized in 1817, but little was accomplished. In 1833, under the new city charter, six directors were elected as a school board. Unfortunately, one of their first official acts was to lease, for a term of fifty years, a large portion of the lands donated by the United States for school purposes. With the rapid increase in the value of real estate, the rental was very soon inadequate in value, and insufficient for the desired purpose, and the people of St. Louis did not receive the full benefit of their school fund for a number of years. Besides which, the surveyor-general of Missouri, in 1848, when Mr. Eliot became a member of the school board, had denied the claim of the public schools to certain common lots, and refused to set them aside and leave the matter of adjudication to the courts.

A knowledge of these facts is necessary to an understanding of the work Mr. Eliot was called upon to perform. He began his labors as a school director by visiting the public schools, sometimes

devoting the entire day to that purpose. He records that in June, with the thermometer at ninety-five in the shade, he walked a mile and a half to the First Ward School, and visited all three departments, which were "in poor condition." The entire school system was at that time very unsatisfactory, and the teachers inefficient. In August, at his instance and direction, new teachers were "imported" from New England. The system of instruction was altered and improved.

Mr. Eliot soon found his duties as a member of the school board quite onerous, but considered that he was working in a good cause. There were three meetings each month to be attended, and he was occupied with school duties one or two days of the week. In June he was appointed member of a commission to visit the county farm and city workhouse to ascertain their condition, and also to prepare a memorial to the city council and county court, urging the establishment of a house of correction. "Those who are able to work all the time without painful weariness," he declared, "do not know what luxury they enjoy."

"Next autumn," he writes, "my plans are:

"I. To prepare a petition and get a law passed by the legislature, authorizing a tax of one sixth of one per cent. on city property for school purposes, and then to urge it before the city council.

"II. To get the school claims for property in suit, for which purpose a memorial must be sent

to the commissioner of land in Washington, to require action of surveyor-general of Missouri.

"III. Purchase of lot and erection of school-house in this ward.

"The first of these is my own idea, and will need much attention. The second I must chiefly see to. The third only needs urging."

Thus much for the schools. In addition, Mr. Eliot proposed to preach on slavery; to get some initiatory steps taken in the legislature, or at least some consideration among the members thereof, as to emancipation laws; to preach strongly on trade in liquors; to deliver four or five lectures on European travels, churches in Europe, etc., for charity fund; and to give a course of lectures to young men and women. An inclusive programme!

In August, 1848, Mr. Eliot proposed, and was appointed a committee, to draft a memorial to the legislature, asking for a tax in St. Louis not exceeding one tenth of one per cent. for the public schools.

In the memorial prepared and sent to both houses of the Missouri General Assembly by Mr. Eliot, the memorialists, the board of directors of the St. Louis public schools, requested the legislature to pass a law authorizing in that city the imposition of a tax of one tenth of one per cent. on city property for school purposes, said measure to be submitted to a vote of the tax-

payers at the polls. Facts were adduced showing the insufficiency of the income then available, derived from the lease of lands donated for school purposes by the general government in 1848, the fifty-year leases still having thirty-five years to run. There were then five schoolhouses, and after the sixth was built no more funds for the erection of buildings would be available for ten years, although with overcrowded schoolrooms only two thousand children could be instructed in the public schools, leaving six thousand children with no advantages of education. And this in a city rapidly increasing in population!

This memorial was sent to the legislature December 26, 1848, and an "Act to authorize the levying and collecting of a Tax in the city of St. Louis for the Purposes of Education" was passed by the General Assembly and approved February 13. It was to be submitted to a vote of the tax-payers of St. Louis at the polls, the first Monday in June.

Meantime Mr. Eliot was also working for the accomplishment of the other objects he had outlined. Preparations were made to erect a new schoolhouse on Fifteenth and Pine streets, and it is evident that he had sent a memorial to the commissioner of land in Washington concerning disputed claims, since he records that notice has been received from the surveyor-general

of Missouri that he had received orders from Washington to set apart all lots claimed by the public school directors under Act of Congress. "One step towards our suits," adds Mr. Eliot; but such seems not to have been the case, judging from two letters written by him a year later, in 1849, to Judge Butterfield, commissioner of the general land office at Washington. Apparently the former surveyor-general of Missouri had been superseded, and Mr. Eliot requested that his successor should reinvestigate certain claims upon which reports adverse to the schools had been made by his predecessor, who had "exceeded the limits of his office" in reporting unfavorably against the claims of the public schools, instead of setting apart for them any lots against which there was no unquestionable claim, and leaving the decision in each case to the proper legal tribunal.

Litigation over the title of lands claimed by the public schools under the grant made by Act of Congress in 1812 was inevitable, and extended over a term of years. In a letter written to Dr. Eliot in 1861, details of such a suit are given by Colonel Thomas T. Gantt, who was counsel in a case decided in favor of the public schools.

October 2, 1848, Mr. Eliot had been unanimously elected president of the school board. "A troublesome office," he declared; "the trea-

sury is empty and many things in confusion, but a good feeling exists in the Board." To influence popular feeling in favor of a school tax, he began early to publish in the daily papers a series of articles proving the necessity of increased provision for education in the public schools. Some one writing in the "Republican" complained of the large number of bad boys in the city, and asked: "Where are our houses of refuge?" Mr. Eliot in reply inquired: "Where are our public schools?" He declared that considering there were then five or six thousand children of school age out of school, because neither schoolhouses nor teachers were provided for them, it was no cause of wonder that a host of idle boys was growing up to be a curse to the city. "We may much more reasonably be amazed," he added, "that the citizens, and especially the religious part of them, are so inactive, so blind to the best interests of the community, so busy on the one hand with party politics, and on the other with party theology, that they do nothing when the most ought to be done."

Notwithstanding the absorbing nature of his work for the public schools, Mr. Eliot did not neglect his other interests. Immediately after the appearance of the article above mentioned, a series of communications on "the difficult subject of slavery" was published by him under fictitious signatures. In January, 1849, he also

preached a sermon on slavery, and wrote to Hon. William Campbell, of the Missouri Legislature, and Hon. Thomas H. Benton, United States senator from Missouri, to inquire regarding the prospect of obtaining a law providing for gradual emancipation in Missouri.

Although there was a steady increase of cholera during the spring of 1849, Mr. Eliot never once relaxed his efforts to obtain the passage of a law providing for a city tax of one tenth of one per cent. on city property, for the support of the public schools. Most of the Catholics, including four or five liberal-minded gentlemen on the school board, were in favor of such a law. A few, less tolerant, opposed it, unless a portion of the fund thus obtained could be set aside for Catholic schools. To such a one, who signed himself "A Friend of Untrammeled Education," Mr. Eliot replied in two articles of some length. He declared that the public schools were and should always be absolutely non-sectarian; that four or five members of the school board were Catholics; that the teachers were chosen without any reference to their religious opinions; that the same rule was observed with regard to pupils; and that no teacher of religion was eligible as a teacher in the public schools. Lastly, he called attention to the fact that when it was proposed to use the Protestant version of the Bible in the public schools, and there was opposition

on the part of Catholics, the matter was referred to the board of directors. They had decided that the schools must be absolutely non-sectarian, and that *neither* version should be introduced. Dr. Eliot privately records that this motion was offered by himself, and carried by acclamation.

The week previous to the first Monday in June, when the vote on the school tax was to be taken, Mr. Eliot published numerous articles reiterating arguments in favor of the law. After the "great fire" Mr. Eliot had written: "I fear that all hope of a tax for schools is lost by this fire. But we shall see." On the morning of the day when the vote was to be taken, five short articles from his pen, urging tax-payers to go to the polls, were published in the papers. The condition of affairs in the city was not inspiriting. The ruins of the fire, which had occurred about two weeks previously, had not yet been removed, and cholera had been declared an epidemic in the city. "The prospect was unpromising," wrote Dr. Eliot, in later years, "but largely through the active diligence of the members of this (the Unitarian) congregation, who went from house to house to remind people of their duty, the vote of the tax-payers was two to one in favor of the school tax, and from that date the proper history of the St. Louis public schools begins." And again he wrote: "Although the vote was small on the school tax, it is satisfactory that, out of six thou-

sand voters, only two hundred and forty-five were found to oppose it, at a time when the calamities of the city would afford a fair excuse for doing so. Some of the large property-holders were against us; the rest, with few exceptions, were ignorant foreigners." Mr. Eliot himself "spent all Monday forenoon electioneering for the school tax," and "drummed up at least fifty votes." At the same time he collected $150 for Elder Nicholson's church. Elder Nicholson was building a small church at a town called Marseilles.

In August Mr. Eliot had begun the movement in favor of the tax for schools. Everything in relation to it since then had been either his own work or at his suggestion, and now that the law was *passed* and *confirmed*, he felt as if this alone was a good and sufficient year's work. "It is enough in itself," he declared, "to make me satisfied that I returned to St. Louis. It will give to the public schools some $30,000 per annum."

The supreme importance which Dr. Eliot attached to the free school system is shown in his Phi Beta Kappa address, delivered during the Civil War, in which he said: "The newspaper correspondent may tell you that Missouri was saved to the Union by the taking of Camp Jackson and the scattering of the disloyal legislature three days before an ordinance of secession would have been passed. But the earnest of that victory had been given twenty-five years before by the

establishment in St. Louis of the New England system of free education. On the first Monday of June, 1849, when fully one half of the city had just been destroyed by fire, the citizens determined, by a vote two to one, to tax themselves for the support of public schools. On that day the victory was gained."

The establishment of evening schools for young people unable to attend during the day was one of Mr. Eliot's favorite projects. In January, 1850, two evening schools were opened as a part of the public school system. Under the printed notice Mr. Eliot wrote: "This I have been trying for these three months."

Mr. Eliot's intimate friend, Rev. John H. Heywood, thus wrote of his work for popular education in St. Louis: "To Mr. Eliot's reflective and prophetic mind, a wisely designed, liberally endowed, and well-ordered system of public schools was not only desirable, but absolutely essential. Such a system was essential alike to the intellectual welfare and the religious freedom of the city, whose growth and far-reaching influence none foresaw more clearly than he, as none understood better than he the vital importance of institutions, religious and educational, thoroughly charged with the American spirit, as the one efficient barrier against material, Philistine worldliness on the one side, and un-American ecclesiasticism on the other. Hence he threw the energies of his

strong, concentrated nature into the cause of popular education, working for it day and night, with unwavering devotion and unrelaxing tenacity, until, through the blessing of the Infinite Mind upon his labors and the labors of associates kindred in spirit, the desired system of public schools was established. It was a system lofty in ideal, comprehensive in purpose, and admirably organized, which, expanding from year to year, attained in time a commanding position."

The income derived from the tax on city property in St. Louis established the public school system on a secure financial basis. Schools multiplied in number to meet the larger demands of a rapidly increasing population, and have ever since maintained a high standard of excellence.

CHAPTER IV

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

One thing was needed to develop the greatest possibilities of the public school system, and that was the establishment of a higher institution of learning. This want was to be supplied sooner than any one had anticipated, through what some persons would call a happy accident, others a providential occurrence. The inception of the idea belonged to Mr. Wayman Crow, a member of Dr. Eliot's church, who in a large degree shared his plans and aspirations. The fulfillment was due to Dr. Eliot and to the noble men who aided him in this and other enterprises.

In the winter of 1853 Mr. Crow was a member of the Missouri State Legislature as senator from St. Louis. Always interested in public affairs, he took an active part in legislation. As president of the State Institute for the Blind, Mr. Eliot had memorialized the legislature for a grant of $20,000, which Mr. Crow evidently assisted him in procuring. He also brought to Mr. Eliot from Jefferson City a commission as curator of the State University at Columbia, a position which Mr. Eliot accepted with some hesitation on account

of "a troublesome state of affairs resulting from political and religious controversies."

On February 22 Mr. Eliot wrote: "An Eliot Seminary has been incorporated by the present legislature, but I know nothing of it." On the 1st of March Mr. Crow came to St. Louis, bringing with him charters for trustees of the Church of the Messiah and for "Eliot Seminary." The latter charter was declared by Mr. Eliot to be "very liberal," and was to be "worked up in some way before long."

The circumstances attending the early incorporation of "Eliot Seminary" were thus afterwards related by Dr. Eliot: "A St. Louis merchant, being a member of the Missouri State Legislature, happened to see on the desk of a colleague an educational charter which struck him as particularly good. Without consultation with any one, he selected seventeen names of personal friends, adopted the charter with a few modifications, under the name of Eliot Seminary, and obtained its passage. It took us by surprise, and, at first thought, caused some amusement; for none of us had dreamed of such a thing, and an educational enterprise seemed quite beyond our strength. But, upon examination of the charter, it was found to be a document of extraordinary merit, and capable of the grandest use. Its possession constituted a divine call; and, after talking it over for a year, we

determined to organize under it, and go to work."

"The puzzle at first was where to begin," added Dr. Eliot. "The whole educational field was open before us, unoccupied except by the public schools, and a few indifferent private seminaries. . . . Our charter authorized us to establish anything we pleased, to hold an unlimited amount of property free from all taxation, and direct our affairs according to our own judgment. We determined not to let such privileges die for want of use. It looked like rashness or over-ambition, but has proved to be of the highest prudence."

The directors of the prospective institution of learning did not meet for organization until February 22, 1854. During the year Mr. Eliot had been revolving in his own mind different plans and methods. His first request was that the title Eliot Seminary, being too personal and sectarian, should be changed, and the name "Washington Institute" was chosen. This was suggested by the accident of the charter's being signed on the 22d of February, and by the organization of the Institute on the same day of the ensuing year. Mr. Eliot was elected president and Mr. Crow vice-president of the board of directors, which respective positions were held by these gentlemen during the lifetime of each. The seventeen charter members were Christopher Rhodes, Samuel Treat, John M. Krum,

Wm. H. Eliot Jr

John Cavender, George Partridge, Phocion R. McCreery, George Pegram, N. J. Eaton, James Smith, Seth A. Ranlett, Mann Butler, William G. Eliot, Jr., John How, Hudson E. Bridge, William Glasgow, Jr., Samuel Russell, and Wayman Crow. Probably the fact that these gentlemen were all members of Mr. Eliot's church or congregation, and Mr. Eliot's own well-known views in the matter, influenced them when the constitution was framed in making emphatic declaration of its non-sectarian character. Article VIII. provided that "No instruction, either sectarian in religion, or partisan in politics, shall be allowed in any department of the institution, and no sectarian or partisan test shall be used in the election of professors, teachers, or other officers of the Institute, nor shall any such test ever be used in said Institute for any purpose whatsoever. This article shall be understood as the fundamental condition on which all endowments, of whatever kind, are received." Dr. Eliot was always opposed to sectarianism in education, and doubtless his experience in the public schools and the state university had confirmed him in this conviction.

In the constitution it was also declared that the object of the Washington Institute was "to provide the means of a thorough and complete education, with particular view to practical usefulness." It is evident from this clause, from the

use of the term "Institute," and from the tenor of Mr. Eliot's address to the board of directors on this occasion, that at that time the practical and utilitarian idea was prominent in the minds of the incorporators. Mr. Eliot is authority for the statement that it was "only after much doubt and deliberation, and finally by a prodigious stride," that Eliot Seminary, by act of legislature in 1857, became Washington University.

In the address above referred to, Mr. Eliot did not attempt to minimize the sacrifice of time and money required for the contemplated enterprise. The important question, he said, was whether the accomplishment of the object undertaken would be sufficient compensation for the labor and cost, and what would be gained by success. Only the *foundation* of a great institution could be laid, and some parts of the plan matured. Those who came after them must finish the work.

The impelling motives in the present undertaking, Mr. Eliot declared to be: Firstly, the education of their own children, that they need not be sent from home; secondly, the extension of aid to the children of others, that they might obtain industrial training, for which purpose an industrial school would be established. There would be scholarships in that and other departments, to assist "diligent and deserving youth."

The strongest motive that appealed to the

incorporators was, Mr. Eliot said, "to found an institution for the public benefit." St. Louis would probably be one of the largest and most influential cities in the Western valley. It was therefore necessary to lay a broad and substantial foundation for educational, religious, and philanthropic institutions, for upon such depended the intellectual, moral, and religious growth of society. If the new institution could be established according to the wishes of its founders, it would become one of the strongest agencies for good in the whole Western valley. It had a framework which admitted of indefinite expansion.

In this address Mr. Eliot especially emphasized the practical character and tendencies of Washington Institute, declaring that he hoped the practical and scientific department would stand in the foreground and give character to the rest. He deprecated the "absurd distinction" by which law, medicine, and theology were called professions, and everything else labor or trade. He believed that the merchant, the farmer, the artisan should be scientific men and dignify labor.

In accordance with these views, a practical and industrial department, under the name of the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute, was organized. It was named for Colonel John O'Fallon, a liberal benefactor to this and other university work. The following year it was placed under the distinct management and control of a separate board of

directors. It comprised evening schools for the education of artisans occupied during the daytime; and for their use a library and reading-room were provided. Later, courses of lectures were arranged. This was in accordance with the institution idea, before a university had been decided upon.

An academy for boys, now known as Smith Academy, was opened this same year, 1854. Although merely a preparatory school, it constituted the germ of the future university. On the 23d of April, 1857, the formal inauguration of Washington University took place; and on the evening of this day in Mercantile Library Hall an oration was delivered by Edward Everett. An advanced scientific class was then organized. The college proper was organized in 1858, and also the Mary Institute, like Smith Academy, a sub-department of the future university, was opened in 1859. In that same year, October 4, 1859, Joseph G. Hoyt, LL. D., was inaugurated as Chancellor; the first college class graduating under him in 1862. That fall, unfortunately, he died. He was succeeded by William Chauvenet, a man of brilliant parts, eminent as a scholar and of especial distinction as a mathematician.

Rapidly increasing expenses and requirements, with the expansion of the university idea, soon made apparent the necessity of some assured income from endowment. At the annual meeting

of the board of directors, held January 26, 1860, Dr. Eliot presented a report in which he stated that the expenses of the current year proved that some such provision must be made, and requested that he, as president, be authorized to take immediate steps for the creation of a permanent fund of at least one hundred thousand dollars as a general endowment. Also, that he be further authorized to have necessary buildings erected, as soon as the requisite amount over and above the endowment fund could be secured. These suggestions were embodied by the members of the board in a resolution authorizing the subscription, and promising coöperation and aid. At a meeting held February 21, a month later, Dr. Eliot reported that he had found the task of raising one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars more difficult than he had expected, yet it must be accomplished. For a long time he had contended against calling the new institution a university, but the work had grown on their hands. They already held a commanding place in the community, and had gathered together a faculty of which they had reason to be proud. They were on the point of being recognized as a university; but larger demands were pressing upon them, and must be met. They must either stop in their progress, or worse than that, retrograde, and merge the university idea in that of a preparatory school, unless they could take a decided step

forward, and place themselves in a position of permanent strength with all requisite means of doing their work. The times were unfavorable, but the only time to do a work was when the exigency required it to be done; and the moral effect of action then would be far greater than at any other time. In conclusion, Dr. Eliot announced that he had six, and probably seven, subscriptions of ten thousand dollars each. It is needless to add that, as usual in such cases, his own name was included among the subscribers for that amount. The other names appear on the list of directors. One modest subscription of one thousand dollars to the endowment fund was given by Dr. Eliot's mother, on condition that a "holiday be given to the scholars of Mary Institute on or near the 11th of May annually for a May Festival." This holiday, still observed, is called "Grandmother's Day."

It was well that this endowment fund was created, and the college building made ready for occupancy, before the beginning of the Civil War, as this proved to be a crucial period in the history of the young and struggling university. In the year 1861 all appointments of professors and instructors were made conditional on the "continued ability of the directors to conduct the institution as heretofore." There was a general reduction of expenses; and, as a step in this direction, Dr. Eliot offered his services gratui-

tously as professor of metaphysics. This was intended as a temporary arrangement, but unfortunately for his health and strength it continued some time, and became a laborious duty from which he would gladly have obtained release.

While visiting in Boston, in 1864, Dr. Eliot prepared an address on "Washington University," to be delivered in several of the churches of Boston. This was later printed for circulation, since he was now again endeavoring to raise an additional endowment of two hundred thousand dollars. He appealed to the churches on the ground that the establishment of a university upon the broad foundation of unsectarian Christian principles, in a region like the valley of the Mississippi, might be called a Christian enterprise, and its success a national benefit. Such an institution would be to the whole valley what Harvard University is to New England. When Dr. Eliot's first church was built, Boston had contributed three thousand dollars; and the members of his society had pledged themselves to expend annually in charity and missionary work the interest on that amount. This they did for two years, and after that expended annually for such purposes, not including their own support or educational enterprises, an average amount considerably larger than the original donation, besides founding a mission house with a partial endowment.

Continuing, Dr. Eliot declared that during the Civil War the Western Sanitary Commission had received from "the generous heart of New England" a continued, increasing stream of bounty. The half million dollars thus sent had done an untold amount of good. Not a single regiment of all the Western States failed to know that New England was taking care of them as if they were her own.

In describing the effects of the war upon Missouri, Dr. Eliot declared that many whole counties had been depopulated; and that on some of the principal roads one might travel fifty miles without finding a farm with buildings or fences standing. St. Louis merchants had lost heavily through their trade with the South, and for nearly three years business was completely prostrated. As a result of the abolition of slavery in Missouri, making a readjustment of the relations between employer and employed necessary, a radical social change must be accomplished. There must be a regeneration of society, new modes of life, new estimates of labor and the laboring classes, new principles of political economy, and new sources of prosperity; and the agencies to direct these great changes were "Religion and Education." It was necessary, Dr. Eliot believed, to have the best educational influences at work instantly. "The direct influence of the higher institutions of learning upon the public mind and morals," he

declared, "cannot be overestimated. . . . Educate the leaders of society in just principles of statesmanship, political economy, public and private morals. . . . Let the upper classes remain under false systems of instruction, and the multitude must suffer the consequences. . . . The founders of a university are a power behind legislation and control it. . . . It is good to have educated followers; we *must* have educated leaders."

In applying to the churches of Boston, Dr. Eliot said that of the total amount, $478,000, thus far contributed to Washington University, four fifths had come from his own congregation, being for several years an annual average of $50,000. Eleven individuals had given $300,000 of this amount, among whom only two or three would be considered rich men. Several had given from fifteen to thirty per cent. of all they were worth; and one had given sixty per cent., and expressed willingness to give one half the remainder. Progress had been due to the earnest resolution of a few men.

The address delivered in Boston, when printed in pamphlet form, bore on the title-page these words: "A Statement relating to the Endowment of 'Washington University,' St. Louis, Missouri; addressed to friends in New England, and especially in Boston, who have heretofore placed it in my power to undertake and prosecute

works of religion, patriotism, and philanthropy in the West. By William G. Eliot."

A leaflet, issued with the pamphlet, contained a direct appeal for assistance to "friends of Washington University in New England." In sending copies of both publications to his brother, Hon. Thomas D. Eliot, Dr. Eliot wrote on the leaflet: —

DEAR BROTHER, — You see, or will see by this document, that I am in for it! Please make time to read it. The job is "a big one," as Mr. Lincoln says, but I mean to finish it because I must. I would gladly give all I am worth to do it up instantly, for it is now a load heavier than I can carry.

Your affectionate, *not* crazy, brother,

WILLIAM.

May 23, 1864.

As a result of this appeal, Washington University received large benefactions from two residents of Boston, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, and the heirs of Mr. Tileston's estate, through his daughter, Mrs. Augustus Hemenway. In recognition there were established the "Nathaniel Thayer Professorship of Mathematics and Applied Mechanics" and the "Tileston Professorship of Political Economy."

By a natural process of evolution and development, under the fostering care and self-sacrificing effort of its friends, the new university was becoming such in fact as well as in name. In Septem-

ber, 1867, a law school was organized, in which undertaking Mr. Henry Hitchcock, a prominent lawyer, and member of the university board, took an active part, besides serving for many years as provost of the law school. Without the voluntary and gratuitous service of himself and his associates in the profession, the founding of a law school as a department of Washington University must necessarily have been delayed.

The O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute, established before the university idea had been fully accepted, was hardly a legitimate department of proper university work. It did not, like the sub-departments of the university, represent, in a systematic course of instruction, a preliminary training for which there was otherwise no provision in the community; and the cost of maintaining it was so great that it could only have been continued by Washington University at the expense, if not sacrifice, of other essential departments. Therefore, in the year 1868, the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute, building and contents, was conveyed to the St. Louis public school board under certain reciprocal conditions, whereby the public schools undertook to carry on the work of giving gratuitously elementary instruction in technical science to students engaged in preparing themselves for industrial mechanical pursuits, and also to continue the library on a greatly enlarged scale. Thus the university was relieved of a task

somewhat outside of its province as an institution of advanced learning, and confined to the more legitimate work of higher scientific training in its scientific or polytechnic department, now the school of engineering.

The public school library had been but a few years in existence, and its consolidation with the O'Fallon Polytechnic Library was of advantage to both organizations. Dr. Eliot was a member of the board of managers of the public school library from 1865 to 1869, and at the first meeting of the board, February 25, 1865, addressed that body, congratulating the promoters on the inception of an enterprise which promised such efficient aid to the cause of education.

Dr. Eliot returned from abroad in the spring of 1870, and was immediately summoned to the bedside of his brother, Thomas Dawes Eliot, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, who died June 14. Dr. Eliot had evidently while away been revolving in his mind plans for the organization of a scientific department in the university, for he sent a report, written in the sick chamber of his brother, to be read at the commencement exercises of the university in June, 1870. In this report he recommended the erection of a building for the scientific department as one of the essential requisites for the coming year. In August the plans were completed, and the building was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1871.

Dr. Eliot's plan for this department comprised four courses of scientific instruction, — chemistry, civil engineering, mechanical engineering, and mining and metallurgy. A course of architecture, he declared, should be added, had they the means. This was done in 1902, when increased income permitted larger expenditure.

In the summer of 1870 Chancellor Chauvenet of Washington University was suffering from the illness which eventually caused his death, in December of that year. Added cares thus devolved upon Dr. Eliot, as president of the board of trustees, and he realized that his strength was not adequate to what he considered a satisfactory performance of church and university duties. Therefore, on July 1, 1870, he sent to the trustees of the Church of the Messiah his resignation as pastor. At their request it was deferred for a year, that a successor might meantime be found.

His withdrawal from the ministry was to Dr. Eliot a cause of keen regret, and in a sermon, preached on the occasion of the thirty-sixth anniversary of the Church of the Messiah, he thus expressed himself in regard to a change of vocation, which he then hoped would be temporary: "I need not remind you how deeply this cause of education has interested me since my first coming here until now. It has stood second only to the work of the Christian ministry, which

must, with me, always stand first, and from which I trust never to withdraw myself. But next to it and in close alliance with it, as the helper and handmaid of religion, comes education, by the general diffusion of which alone can the safety and progress of our country be secured. Not only for the public schools, but for other institutions which are intended to reach all departments of learning, until they have grown into a full American university, such as this great city of the great West should possess, has a large part of my time been given.

"The impression prevails, I am aware, that I am soon to withdraw myself from all other pursuits and devote myself hereafter exclusively to this university work. But it is not so. The love of my profession, the ministry of Jesus Christ, is so ingrained that no other calling has any attraction for me. It has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, and becomes stronger as the strength fails.

"I do desire release from the too heavy burden of this large church and congregation, because the proper performance of its reasonably required work is beyond my strength, and younger hands and a fresher mind are needed for its best interests. But there is enough other work to do, upon a smaller scale, both in this city and the vicinity, to satisfy my wishes and keep me from being unemployed.

"As to educational work, I shall continue to do it, if God will, in the same way that I have always done it; as a citizen, as a friend of education, and as a voluntary and unpaid task. In this way all that I have the ability or educational training to do may be done, and only so am I willing or able, as things now are, to undertake it."

In September, 1870, by a resolution of the board of directors of Washington University, the president (Dr. Eliot) was constituted ex officio Chancellor of the university, "until further order," and immediately assumed the duties of the position. In December, 1870, after the death of Chancellor Chauvenet, Dr. Eliot, by a second resolution to the same effect, was continued as Chancellor "until further notice."

CHAPTER V

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY (*continued*)

Dr. Eliot was regularly installed Chancellor of Washington University in 1872. On the occasion of his inauguration, February 29, 1872, Mr. Crow, on behalf of the board of directors, delivered to him the charter of the university, as a symbol of the power conveyed to him, and in addressing him said in part: "More than thirty years ago, when St. Louis was little more than a frontier village, you first became intimately connected with the educational interests of this city as director and subsequently president of the public school board, and we do not forget that it was owing in a great part to your efforts, and to the earnest coöperation of those who were associated with you in those early days, that we are indebted for the admirable system of common schools which we now possess, and for the preservation of the liberal endowment, which, in the space of a single lifetime, has enabled it to attain a degree of excellence and bring forth fruits that may safely challenge comparison. . . . From the moment when with fear and hope it was first decided to give a practical shape and form to

the idea of this institution, down to the present occasion, when in the full tide of successful experiment we call you to the highest and most responsible of academic positions, the burthen of the labor has rested on your shoulders; as president of the board of directors, it fell within your province to prepare and develop the general plan upon which the success of the experiment was believed to depend; to you was committed the duty of organizing the different departments of instruction as they were rendered necessary to accommodate the ever widening circle of scholars; and at the same time you have not only had the entire supervision of the material interests of the institution, but you voluntarily assumed the task of placing its affairs upon such a basis, which I trust will soon be accomplished, as to make them comparatively independent of financial change and vicissitude. All these results have been attained, and that Washington University exists to-day, with its doors wide open and hundreds of scholars thronging its halls, is due to your energy, executive ability, and unselfish devotion to the sacred cause of education. Do not be surprised, therefore, if we salute you as its 'founder,' for in so doing we but echo the unanimous sentiments of those who have shared your anxieties, participated however humbly in your labors, and who now rejoice in the glorious prospect of success. This much it

has seemed to me was due in grateful acknowledgment of past services."

In response to Mr. Crow, Dr. Eliot in his inaugural address before the government and alumni of Washington University and many of his fellow-citizens declared that, holding in memory those who had preceded him on like occasions, he had a natural feeling of unfitness in addressing the assembled audience. At the inauguration of the university itself, there had been an address by Edward Everett, "the most accomplished of American orators," and on subsequent occasions addresses by Chancellor Hoyt and Chancellor Chauvenet, both of them men whose names conferred distinction upon the university. It had been the duty of his predecessors to show the principles upon which sound education rests, and how a university should be conducted. It devolved on him to show how a university should be built. From the first inception of the enterprise the ideal of its projectors had been the permanent establishment of an American university that would include all departments of learning, art, science, and æsthetic culture. Such a university should elevate the workman to the ranks of intelligent, skilled labor, and offer to all ready to receive them the best advantages of the highest education.

While emphasizing in his address the *practical* tendency which necessity imposed upon American

institutions of learning, Dr. Eliot declared that the peculiar province of every university, properly so termed, must be found in the highest department of intellectual culture. A university was not primarily a society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, nor a common school system for the education of the masses. Its distinctive work was in the higher realms of thought, there building upon the highest attainments of the past to reach upward to still higher, and thus enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge by discovery of new truths and by new applications of the old. Not quantity but quality of work was the ultimate test of a university's success. To educate one man thoroughly, to make him one of those that stand first, leading, not following, conferred more honor than to graduate a thousand upon the usual dead level of moderate scholarship. Quality included quantity. One best was more than many good. The man who looked a little further than his contemporaries discovered a new continent. The man who thought a little more profoundly invented the telegraph or revealed the laws of light. To train one such man adds more to the world's wealth than numerical figures can compute.

Dr. Eliot considered that the university should be supplied with all needful facilities for giving the best education to the few, as well as a good education to the many. The number of those

capable by nature of receiving the best gifts might be small, but the best gifts should be kept ready, and no one honestly seeking them should be turned away.

To lay the foundations of university education as broad and strong as planned, to raise the superstructure of knowledge to the height desired, Dr. Eliot declared that large benefactions were required. The university had already received, he stated, more than three quarters of a million of dollars, and had become in the city and State an influence of moral and educational power which could not well be spared. Yet if this were all — if to hold their own were their best hope, to remain one of three hundred half-fledged colleges, whose wings refused to grow — they would have signally failed. "The sacrifices we have made," he continued, "the anxieties we have endured; the prayers and longings we have breathed; the day and night labor and care which have driven sleep from the pillow; . . . we do not say that it will have been all in vain if we should stop here, but assuredly our aim and purpose have reached far beyond. Our assigned task is to make for St. Louis what Harvard College is to Boston, or Yale to the city of its abode. . . .

"We would found a university so widely acknowledged in its influence that St. Louis and Missouri should be honored throughout the world by its being established here. . . . As citizens

of St. Louis we desire to make our city great and strong. Can that be called a great city which must go abroad to find the best means of education? Can we attain to that first place, or hold it when attained, by mere force of wealth and muscular energy? The best things that money can buy are refinement and knowledge and art, and men of intelligence refuse to live where these cannot be found. . . . The moral and intellectual progress must keep pace with the material, or our prosperity will be evanescent. . . . Nothing can be more sad, more pitiable, than abundance of wealth where poverty of mind and character prevails.

"This is one of the great dangers of American life, especially in the luxuriantly growing West. Everywhere the influences of refinement and good taste should be cultivated. Everywhere institutions for promotion of the higher education should be cherished. Especially where the gifts of outward nature are so munificent, the inward life should be heedfully kept from the degradation of ignorance, from the debasing idolatry of gold."

As to the amount of money and length of time required to accomplish the establishment of such an institution as was desired, Dr. Eliot said: "Give us one million of dollars, and grant us five years' time, and we will provide for St. Louis and its region all the educational advantages of Harvard or Yale." To some persons a million of

dollars seems a large sum to invest in such an educational enterprise, but Dr. Eliot thought it was a sort of barbarism so to consider it. Men rightly said of the contemplated Merchants' Exchange building, that it would be cheaply built if it cost a million and a half; and of the grand viaduct over the Mississippi, that if it cost six millions, the only thing to be regretted was that it was not begun and finished ten years before. "But an American university," Dr. Eliot continued, "a highway of knowledge and art, bringing here to our homes and families all the appliances and wealth of intellectual culture from distant regions to make them indigenous here, is a greater work, and will shed its blessings upon all around long after the piers of that magnificent structure shall have crumbled away. Material things perish. The mind endures."

It was an honorable ambition, Dr. Eliot thought, to link one's self to the beneficent institutions of the land, so that one's name would be a title of nobility to children's children to the end of time; yet they neither had nor would now appeal to such a motive nor seek to build the structures of usefulness upon any selfish foundation, however praiseworthy in the eyes of men. "In the service of God and humanity the work must be done, if at all; . . . the desire to do good . . . must be the strong purpose by which every large philanthropy is sustained."

The most significant feature of Dr. Eliot's address was the statement that from the first inception of their enterprise the "aspirations and ideal" of the board of directors of Washington University had been unchanged. This ideal contemplated the establishment of an institution of advanced learning, providing not only "a good education for the many," but "the best education for the few."

"The best education for the few!" It is this indeed which requires large means, as is proved by the experience of every university. Dr. Eliot himself wrote: "In such educational work as this we must often feel the absurdly great cost, *per capita*, of what we do. But the whole cost should be divided, not by the few in the upper departments, but first, by all in all departments, say nine hundred, and secondly, by the next twenty years or onward. As in digging a well or bringing irrigation to a barren district, at first one family is supplied, a small district redeemed, but by and by a neighborhood, a community, a state."

When at one of the early meetings of the board of directors of "Washington Institute," it was suggested that the name be changed to "Washington University," with an assumption of all the responsibilities thereby entailed, Dr. Eliot, who perhaps realized more clearly than any other person present the magnitude of the

undertaking, opposed the proposition, to which he later acceded. Then, having once given his assent, he laid the foundation of the new institution with a view to its indefinite growth and expansion. The plans rapidly matured in his active and fertile brain, but for lack of funds progress was necessarily slow, and the natural evolution of the basic idea outstripped the means for its realization. Thus each year the burden became more heavy, as new departments were added. In Dr. Eliot's annual report to the board of directors, in January, 1873, he said when urging the creation of an endowment fund of one million of dollars: "Gentlemen, I know that this persistent cry for money is wearisome in the extreme, but how can I help it when I see the greatness of the opportunity, the growing necessity of the work to be accomplished?

"I doubt if there is a person in St. Louis who covets money or prays for it more earnestly than I do, and I feel an assured unreasoning conviction, 'borne in upon me,' that from some source or other the money will come. But I see it in such abundance around me, hoarded or wasted, that I scarcely know how patiently to wait for the comparatively small amount for the want of which our young university is compelled, like a child, to crawl and totter instead of vigorously marching on. One million of dollars, added to what we have, if properly invested, would secure

to Washington University, in five years' time, and ever afterwards, a commanding influence throughout this great valley, and would go far toward making our city, what it cannot without some such agency become, the metropolis of the West."

Although the board of directors of Washington University changed somewhat from time to time, through the death of individual members, its register was always a roll of honor. In the absence for many years of a wide public response to meet the needs of the university, the directors repeated their gifts. "At the first meeting in 1854," wrote Dr. Eliot, "when the first seventeen incorporators met together in a private parlor, their conjoined property would not have reached half a million in value. They had no definite plan of action, no reasonable assurance of success. No one outside of their own number thought they would succeed, and of this they themselves were only half convinced."

"They went forward," continued Dr. Eliot, "very cautiously, and found themselves stronger at the end of every year than at its beginning." There was always an annual deficit of from two to ten thousand dollars. This was invariably met "by the persistent generosity of a few persons;" and never from the first was any mechanic, or contractor, or teacher, or any other employed person obliged "to wait for payment a day after

it was justly due." In 1878 Dr. Eliot declared that the university property exceeded over a million dollars, and that two hundred thousand dollars additional had been "sunk by the annual payment of deficiencies and otherwise." This "annual deficit," always provided for by the directors, continued until quite recently. At times individual credit was used to cover two or three hundred thousand dollars. All honor to the men who thus made ultimate success possible!

As already noted, at the first meeting of the incorporators of Washington University, when the constitution was framed, by one of its articles the new institution was debarred from all sectarian or party tests or control or agency of any kind. Dr. Eliot always dwelt with peculiar satisfaction on this provision. "It is the right basis for an American university," he declared, "if the superstructure is to be consecrated, as it should be, to the sovereign love of truth. That is the single aim of all scientific investigation, of all learned research, of all philosophical inquiry, of all ethical analysis and instruction. They who come nearest to truth come nearest to God, and whoever puts hindrance in the way . . . should take heed lest haply he be found to be fighting against Him. Let the motto of our university be 'Veritas pro veritate — Truth for truth's sake.'"

Another fundamental idea, in which Dr. Eliot felt pride, was the high standard of scholarship maintained in every department of the university. This standard of scholarship, he declared, had been established by Chancellors Hoyt and Chauvenet, and "progressively maintained." It was never lowered through desire of numerical increase.

"I am willing," he declared in 1878, in his anniversary address, "to put our graduates, whether of the law school or collegiate or polytechnic departments, with those of Harvard or Yale so far as the short term of our university existence makes possible." "Measured by the standard of time," he regarded the work accomplished as "a marked success. Measured by the scale of large and comprehensive university work," it was "but the lisping of infancy."

In accordance with Dr. Eliot's desire to abolish arbitrary distinctions in education, not to elevate one course of study at the expense of another, and to maintain an equally high standard in all, the classical and scientific courses of the university each covered an equal period of time, while both were "equally severe in mental discipline and comprehensiveness of knowledge." The tendency, he declared, was continually "to bring more of the college studies into the scientific curriculum, and more of the scientific into that of the college." Dr. Eliot himself thoroughly believed in the dis-

ciplinary use of classical studies, especially in early youth before the mind is ready to grasp scientific truths; but he recognized the fact that "the differences of mental constitution, and the necessary divergences in the pursuits of life, should also be considered." He maintained that the enlarging range of knowledge required an extensive variety of elective courses, and that to sneer at the dead languages or to depreciate scientific knowledge was equally vain and foolish. The essential thing was to establish a high standard of scholarship, whether in classical or scientific studies. By lowering its standard Washington University might quadruple the number of its graduates, but slow progress was preferable. "Let the fountains of knowledge be kept full and pure," he said in one of his informal reports, "even if at a height inaccessible to the indolent and unattractive to the dull. The few who reach them become the teachers and guides of the rest."

Although Dr. Eliot always believed in the superior advantages of a thorough collegiate course before specializing in any one direction, he recognized that this was not always practicable. To bring education into the handicrafts, to dignify and improve skilled labor, to train young men for the workshop and factory, the manual training school, as a secondary school or sub-department of the university, was organized in 1879. It was created in response to popular demand, to supply

the need created by the passing away of the apprenticeship system, and embraced a four years' course of study and training whereby skilled industry might be placed nearer the level of the professional pursuits. Since the inception of this system within the last few years, manual training is being extensively adopted in the public schools, and this may eventually relieve the university of the charge of this sub-department.

In this same year, 1879, in which the manual training school was organized, the board of directors of Washington University took what Dr. Eliot termed "another departure from traditional usage, . . . by the establishment of a school of art and design. . . . as a department of the university." Art instruction had then been embodied in the course of study, from the "remote period of academic existence," and the St. Louis School of Fine Arts had grown from this humble beginning. "The certain effect of the manual school and the department of art," declared Dr. Eliot in a report, "will be to elevate the taste of the whole community, and to introduce into our workshops and manufactories a higher standard of skill both in the design and finish of manufactured articles of whatever sort."

Soon after the creation of this new department of art, Mr. Wayman Crow crowned his numerous benefactions to the university by the erection of a museum of fine arts, as a memorial to his only

son, Wayman Crow, Jr. It involved an expenditure of $120,000, besides $25,000 additional as the beginning of an endowment fund.

May, 1875, in response to an appeal from Dr. Eliot, an endowment fund of $25,500, for general lectures, was received from Mr. William H. Smith. "The educational uses of such lectures, given by competent men, in a large city like ours," said Dr. Eliot, "are too obvious to need being insisted upon. . . . The university is thus brought into close and living relation to the whole community."

There was also received from Mrs. Mary Hemenway of Boston, who through her efforts to preserve from destruction the Old South Church in that city had become much interested in the promotion of the study of American history in schools and colleges throughout the United States, the sum of $15,000, which, although intrusted to Dr. Eliot without condition, for university purposes, he believed would be most appropriately used as the beginning of a fund in the creation of a department of American history. He therefore recommended that this be established with a view to promoting the careful study of American history, not only among the students of the university itself, but in the community at large. It was his opinion that Americans grew up "without an opportunity of studying and comprehending the principles on which their political and social

freedom and national independence rest," and that if "the history of our growth and the elements of our general and special prosperities as States in the Union were better understood, the possibility of separateness or conflict would not so much as be thought of, and there would be no North, no South, no East, and no West, but the United States of America, the great Republic of the world."

In the department of American history thus established, Professor John Fiske, eminent as scholar, philosopher, and historian, lectured for a number of years as non-resident professor, until his untimely death in 1901. Dr. Eliot hoped to see the work of this department enlarged, and expressed it as his opinion that if the fund could be increased to yield $5000 annually, "the university might well do good service for the whole country in the advancement of American patriotism and statesmanship, . . . helping to create what at present scarcely existed at all, — a true American nationality of sentiment and character."

October 16, 1877, occurred the death of Mr. James Smith, one of the early members of the Unitarian Church in St. Louis. With Mr. Rhodes he met Dr. Eliot on his arrival in the city, and from that time, as Dr. Eliot expressed it, they "lived on terms of close and brotherly friendship." "As one of the most active founders of Washington University," said Dr. Eliot, "his name appears in all its early records, and at every

step of its progress. Even when it was an experiment, the success of which was extremely doubtful, his contributions were large, and always the largest when discouragements were greatest." In addition to his gifts while living, he bequeathed by will to Dr. Eliot nearly one half of his entire estate in the following terms: "All the remainder of the estate I may have at the time of my death, real, personal, and mixed, and wherever situated, I do give, devise, and bequeath to my friend William G. Eliot, as a testimony of a long-continued friendship and regard, knowing as I do that he always uses all moneys and property to him belonging judiciously, not only for his own purposes alone, but for the good of others, to have and to hold, the same unto the said William G. Eliot, and to his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever."

The money thus bequeathed to him without conditions or stipulations, Dr. Eliot regarded and treated as a sacred trust. In a report made to the board of directors in May, 1883, he declared that in accord with the terms of Mr. Smith's will he had felt justified in making the university the chief recipient of his bounty, especially as he had always been a munificent benefactor to that institution, and Dr. Eliot's personal friend for forty years.

To perpetuate Mr. Smith's name, and as a memorial, a new building was erected for the

academic department of the university, and called "Smith Academy." A new gymnasium was built, and contributions varying in amount were made to different departments of the university, as most needed. In this report of May 28, 1883, made to the board of directors of Washington University, and in an article written and published on the anniversary of Mr. Smith's death, October 16, 1883, Dr. Eliot accounted for the entire amount, principal and interest, of the bequest thus made to him without stipulation: $176,737 had been devoted to university uses, and the remainder, $15,236, to "such religious, charitable, and beneficent uses as seemed judicious." For all sums expended, Mr. Smith's executor, Dr. Eliot, "held vouchers."

In the last formal report made by Dr. Eliot to the university board of directors, January 26, 1885, he gave a résumé of the condition of the various departments. The secondary schools all had their full complement of scholars, and complete corps of teachers. The undergraduate department, including the scientific and collegiate classes, had been thoroughly reorganized, with a wide range of elective studies, and the students were as well and completely instructed as in the best of the Eastern institutions. The beginning of a library had been made, and collections of minerals and fossils purchased and classified. The law school was doing excellent work, and

Dr. Eliot was assured by those most competent to judge, that nowhere could a student find better opportunities for legal education.

An "unpretending observatory" had been built and furnished with excellent instruments, and was doing work not only for students, but for the public at large. For some years the university electric clock had regulated not only the time for the city, but for several railroad systems; and by a method of time signals its click was heard simultaneously in a number of Western cities.

The art school had advanced to a magnitude and a degree of excellence that placed it on a level with the best in the United States, having two hundred and forty-five students in day and evening classes. The art museum was becoming the repository of collections of antique and modern specimens of art. From the interest of a lecture fund, class-room and popular lectures were supplied every year at merely nominal cost of admission.

Such, Dr. Eliot reported, was a rough outline of progress in the last thirteen years, the period of his chancellorship. It had involved the expenditure of $750,000, all of which had been given specifically by friends of the university for the purposes named. For twenty-eight years Washington University had been advancing surely and steadily, until it might fairly be claimed that an

American university had been established, needing only time, ample endowment, and care to give it a commanding influence. Its charter was perfect, its foundations had been well laid, its standard of instruction was high, with just recognition of the demands of the age. Yet, notwithstanding its advantages, the university had come to a standstill; and without enlarged endowment there was even danger that it would not hold its own. Its income had decreased from shrinkage of values and reduced rates of interest, and most of the endowment had been given for special purposes. The advanced standard of education had involved larger expenditures, which must increase rather than diminish. For the maintenance of its present position, and to provide for future growth, Dr. Eliot declared that an added endowment of $500,000 was required.

"Our annual expenses," continued Dr. Eliot, "are at least $12,000 greater than our income from all sources. This is an element of weakness and discouragement, increasing year by year, which no prudent man would willingly encounter. It is not only disheartening in itself, but bars all possibility and even thought of advancement or growth. The range of education is continually becoming wider. The necessity of original research in all departments of science, philosophy, and literature is daily more imperative. The wisdom of giving to every earnest student

the education to which his mind is best adapted, without forcing all to go in the same channel, is more generally recognized. To give the best and highest education to the few, in whatever direction may be chosen, and a good practical common-sense training to all, is the acknowledged aim.

"All of this costs money. The best education costs the most. A closely restricted treasury with an incubus of debt means sluggishness and decline. Men of generous ambition, of fresh, vigorous minds, will not stay where they cannot advance both in their work and in themselves. Good students avoid an institution that stands still."

Dr. Eliot spoke with more earnestness in thus addressing the board of directors because he realized his declining strength, and foresaw the difficulties his successor must encounter, unless the university endowment was increased. He thus gave his reasons for accepting the office of Chancellor in 1872: "When Mr. Hudson E. Bridge, with wise forethought, laid the corner-stone of our proper university existence, March, 1871, by the unexpected and unsolicited gift of $130,000, of which $30,000 was for the uses of the polytechnic school, and the remainder for a chancellorship endowment fund, he expected and desired that some competent educator, of mature experience and tried character, would be placed at the

head of the institution. It was equally and even more earnestly my own desire, for I had no wish nor willingness to leave my previous and chosen calling.

"But after long and careful search we could find no one of already acquired reputation who would be a candidate for the office. For, although a competent salary was secured, the institution itself was so infantile that to call it a university seemed no better than Western grandiloquism. . . .

"It became necessary therefore to put the infant at nurse, and that process has been going on now under my care for these thirteen years. Through the continued and untiring generosity of friends, by gifts and bequests, and still more by the zealous faithfulness of an admirable corps of professors and teachers, to whom the chief praise of our success fairly belongs, we have made satisfactory progress. For, although the office of Chancellor has been but nominally, and I may be pardoned for adding gratuitously filled, the several departments have taken care of themselves, and are still doing so with steady improvement."

In regard to the future Dr. Eliot said: "I doubt if there is any position in the whole country that at this moment offers to a man of vigorous mind and character better opportunities of extended influence and usefulness than the office

which as Chancellor I now hold." "But," he added, "there is still a lion in the way. No sensible man, having an already acquired reputation at stake, would accept the offer as things now are, nor can I with any degree of comfort or satisfaction continue to hold it."

In again urging the necessity of raising an additional endowment fund, Dr. Eliot said: "The friends of the university can do it if they will, and I am convinced by their past action that they are willing to do it, even at great inconvenience, if in their mature judgment it ought to be done.

"To their mature judgment, therefore, I confidently submit the whole case. Humbly but most earnestly I ask for their individual aid and coöperation. I appeal to no secondary motives, however honorable. Let us still work as heretofore, in the service of God and humanity. If our cause does not rest on that basis it ought to fail, and will fail. But with right aims and motives there is scarcely any limit to what wise and earnest men can do. . . .

"As a first step in the movement, I have prepared a subscription paper, to which I have myself subscribed $50,000 payable July 1, 1885, or whenever the full amount of $500,000 is secured to be paid. I would do more if I could, most gladly, but this comes nearer the extreme limit of prudence than I would ask or wish any

one else to go. To me, however, it would be no sacrifice, but rather a cheap release from the anxiety and care of my present official life."

In January, 1886, a year previous to his death, Dr. Eliot submitted to the personal judgment of one or two friends on the board of directors the advisability of his resignation of the offices both of president of that board and Chancellor of the university. He was advised and urged to postpone his withdrawal until a successor could be found, there being none in view. He therefore continued in office until his death in February, 1887, struggling as long as possible to fulfill the duties for which physical infirmities incapacitated him.

Colonel George E. Leighton, one of the oldest and most loyal friends of Washington University, succeeded Dr. Eliot as president of the board of directors. The financial condition of the university remained for several years about the same, there being always an annual deficit to be met. The extension of the city westward, the noise and bustle of crowded streets, rendered imperative a change of location essential to the continued growth of the university; and through the action of the president and board of directors a large tract of land was secured in the suburbs on heights overlooking the city, and, in 1894, its purchase was effected by a popular subscription of $200,000. Not long afterwards

Colonel Leighton retired on account of ill health, and in 1895 Mr. Robert Brookings was elected president of the board of directors of Washington University. Mr. Brookings brought to the management of university affairs not only the practical ability which had made him successful in business, but enthusiasm, generous impulses, and abundant means. His conditional offer of $100,000 secured an additional $400,000 from the community as an endowment fund, and the gift from himself and his business partner, Mr. Cupples, of property amounting in value to three millions of dollars, established the university on a sound financial basis. In this and other respects time is vindicating the faith and hope which, even in the most serious periods of financial crisis, Dr. Eliot maintained in the success of an institution whose future possibilities are still practically unlimited.

At a meeting of the board of directors of Washington University held January 26, 1887, they ordered to be placed on the records of the university a memorial tribute to the memory of Dr. William G. Eliot, as follows: —

"The trustees of Washington University assembled in reverent submission to the divine decree which has deprived them of their honored president, the beloved Chancellor of the university, Rev. William G. Eliot, D. D., place upon the records of the university their humble

tribute of honor and affection for the man; of reverence for his Christian zeal; of gratitude for the blessing of his beneficent life; of love for the devoted friend and counselor; of regret for the profound loss which the institution has sustained.

"The records of the university from the first day of its organization to the present time testify, as such a continuous record only can, to his unselfish, uninterrupted, and zealous identification with its purpose and work. Turn backward these pages for the record of his daily life, and look around you for his monument. His prayers and hopes, his ideals of manly and womanly duty, of sacred devotion to a life of usefulness to his fellow-men, have been inwrought into the very fibre of the university; and whatever place it has filled in the culture and educational advancement of the city and of the West is due in the largest measure to his clear foresight, to his devoted and unselfish zeal, to his wise and beneficent administration.

"The outward results of that administration command an unsolicited and universal recognition. But only to his associates on the board has it been given to know, during more than thirty years, his sure, untiring faith in its purpose; the modest, cheerful, self-consecrated, and self-sacrificing life, which could communicate some portion of its own faith to others, and make possible its

development from the little seminary of 1854 to the university of 1887.

"Of his special work and labors as a Christian pastor, of his ardent patriotism, of his devoted service in the Western Sanitary Commission, and as a constant and always courageous friend of all social reforms, it must be left to others to speak. But the same sterling qualities of Christian purpose, of broad and large-hearted philanthropy, of deep and ever-abiding interest in the welfare of this city and its people, which gave him such preeminence as a citizen of St. Louis for over fifty years, impressed themselves upon his administration as Chancellor of the university. It may be truly said of him that he deemed no labor or sacrifice too great, if the end were right and worthy, and that no advantage to be secured was great enough to tempt his assistance to any purpose which a rigid and conscientious conviction had convinced him to be unworthy his support. His moral course was exceptional in its strength, and in the presentation and advocacy of his convictions in respect of matters of public concern he took no note whatever of personal consequences.

"The great and marked characteristic of the Chancellor was his unfaltering faith in the ultimate success of all honest endeavor in harmony with the divine purpose; and whatever obstacles seemed to retard, or difficulties to oppose, they never seemed to disturb his confidence, to cloud

his hopes or discourage his efforts towards a beneficent result.

"In the administration of this institution, his ideals of intellectual culture, always high, kept well advanced the moral aspect of education in the development of character; and he deemed no system of education complete which did not look to Christian manhood and womanhood as the end to be attained."

CHAPTER VI

GRADUAL EMANCIPATION

Had the establishment of a great university system on permanent and progressive principles been Dr. Eliot's sole life-work, outside of the church, the story of its evolution and growth might close the record of his labors. Such was not the case. He was an enthusiast in the cause of education, and Washington University exists as the concrete and lasting embodiment of his ideals in that direction. His sympathies, however, were too broad, his interests too wide and inclusive, to be confined in their action. He possessed to an unusual degree the power of cherishing not one earnest purpose, but several, to each of which he gave as much fervor as though it were the one object of his life. His efforts in the cause of emancipation antedated his educational work; but after the actual attainment of freedom, he urged above all else for the former bondman an open pathway to learning and knowledge. Believing slavery to be a great wrong, and having faith in its ultimate extinction as essential to the irresistible progress of civilization, Dr. Eliot labored long and patiently, in faith and hope, to accomplish

what he individually could for gradual emancipation. An account of his aims and methods, and the results he accomplished in his work for the slave and freedman, necessitates in the narration a return to his early settlement in St. Louis.

In Missouri, the most northern of the slave States, surrounded on three sides by free territory, gradual emancipation might well begin. So thought William Eliot; and in this hope and to this end he worked from 1834, when he first became a resident of the State, until in 1865, by the voluntary decree of the people through their representatives in constitutional convention assembled, all persons held to service or labor within the borders of Missouri were declared free. No citizen of Missouri, either directly or indirectly, had worked harder for this result than Dr. Eliot, and none received the news with stronger emotions of gratitude and satisfaction.

Although Dr. Eliot could not devote himself to one sole object to the exclusion of all others, he never relinquished an earnest purpose because of any confusion of aims. In the cause of righteousness, in the service of humanity, he responded to the divine call, and the issue of his efforts in any one direction influenced the results in others. As a minister of the gospel, his first duty to the members of his own church was to further "the accomplishment of the Christian character in every individual." Personal righteousness in his

judgment constituted the foundation of civic virtue, upon which depended the regeneration of society. In the inculcation of right principles of conduct among those directly under his charge, in strengthening and extending his personal influence, — which he regarded as a sacred trust for which he was responsible to God, — and in increasing the diffusion of education and knowledge, Dr. Eliot was indirectly, but most effectively, advancing the cause of emancipation, since the awakened conscience, the enlightened mind, are fatal to the continuance of a system of oppression.

From previous residence in the District of Columbia, Dr. Eliot was better prepared to understand conditions in another border slave State. Naturally dispassionate in judgment, he hesitated to condemn those who were the inheritors of a system of which they did not necessarily approve. In both Washington and St. Louis slavery existed in a mild form. Many slaves hardly knew, except in name, that they were so ; and the relation between master and servant was often kindly and affectionate. Such was the attitude towards the colored servants (not slaves) in the family of William Eliot, Senior, who at least on one occasion, as proved by a bill of sale with record of manumission, purchased a slave woman in order to free her.

In St. Louis most slave property had been

acquired through inheritance. and three fourths of the entire number of slaves were employed in domestic service. Many were allowed by indulgent masters overtime in which to work for themselves. Such, however, were the inherent evils of the slave system, that it contained within itself the possibility of great abuse, which unfortunately too often occurred. In his "Life of Archer Alexander," Dr. Eliot says: "Notwithstanding the comparative humanity of slavery as an institution in Missouri, I can truthfully say that there is nothing in all the scenes of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' as given by Mrs. Stowe, to which I cannot find a parallel in what I have myself seen and known in St. Louis itself, previous to the war of secession." And again: "Often have I seen 'gangs' of negroes handcuffed together, two and two, going through the open street like 'dumb, driven cattle' on the way to the steamboat for the South. Large fortunes were made by the trade, and some of those who made them, under thin cover of agency, were held as fit associates for the best men on ''change'."

In its every aspect, better or worse, William Eliot unhesitatingly condemned slavery as an institution. Most earnest was the purpose he formed to oppose it, a purpose as fixed, as unalterable as that of Garrison or Phillips, or any one of the more prominent abolitionists. He did not enroll his name among their number, because he disap-

proved of their methods, believing the immediate abolition of slavery to be undesirable for both master and slave, involving, as it necessarily must, sudden social and political changes.

Dr. Eliot was a gradual emancipationist, with a clear, consistent aim, rather than an abolitionist. His friend, Dr. John H. Heywood, who, as a minister of the same denomination in a border slave State, understood his position on the slavery question better than almost any other person, thus wrote concerning him in an article published after Dr. Eliot's death: "William Eliot's temperament, judgment, and convictions prevented him from coöperating with 'the extreme friends of freedom,' as he regarded them; but to none was freedom dearer. By none was the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law more promptly and more unsparingly denounced than by him. To him might be applied the discriminating words of the latest biographer of Abraham Lincoln. There was in him the same hatred of slavery, the same consideration for the slaveholder as the victim of a system he had inherited, the same sense of divided responsibility between the South and the North, the same desire to effect great reforms with as little individual damage and injury, as little disturbance of social conditions as possible, and these views and feelings made him naturally look to gradual emancipation and educational influences as the great remedial agencies."

In the year 1848 Mr. Eliot thus defined his own position as regarded slavery: "I have been in St. Louis fourteen years, in which time no one subject has been so often in my mind as slavery. Upon no other have I been more anxious to do what is right. My detestation of the system is very great, my sense of the wrong to the black and the injury to the white very deep. I never pass by the slave jails on Olive Street without saying almost, sometimes quite, aloud: 'May the curse of God abide upon this vile traffic!' Yet I have spoken of it in public comparatively seldom, only once or twice each year. In conversation I have always spoken freely. Has it been through want of moral courage? I think not. Certainly not through self-seeking. I have had everything to gain and nothing to lose. Ten years ago I had only to come out as an 'abolitionist;' and although I would have been required to leave my place here, I could have returned to friends and kindred with the honors of a martyr, without his losses, 'covered with glory,' and with the certainty of good settlement. But my gain would have been the only gain.

"I have waited, 'in patience possessing my soul;' perhaps I must wait a little longer — not much. The influence I have now acquired is real; by proper and fearless exertions it will become deeper and wider."

This attitude of patience, which Dr. Eliot main-

tained until the fitting moment for decisive action arrived, was often misunderstood by friends at a distance, who failed to appreciate the work he was striving to accomplish in a manner time has vindicated as the wisest and best. Some dramatic action, some violent denunciation of slavery, that would have destroyed in a moment much of his steadily increasing personal influence, might have won for him the applause of the moment; but when the clamor had ceased, his plan of reform would have been thwarted. Incredible as such a judgment now appears, the mere fact of a minister's continued residence in a slave State was considered by some of the "extreme friends of freedom" as an unpardonable offence, implying approval of an obnoxious system.

In the inflamed state of public feeling for many years previous to the Civil War, good and conscientious people allowed themselves to be wrought into a condition almost of moral frenzy by the evils of slavery and continued aggressions of the South, and were led to advocate extreme measures of which Dr. Eliot could not approve. Among the members of the Western Unitarian Conference of Unitarian churches, which he was largely instrumental in organizing in 1852, were some persons who were impatient of the attitude assumed by others more conservative than they, especially on the subject of slavery. In contravention of the original intention and established

usage of the conference, that no vote should be taken on any resolution concerning which there was a difference of opinion, these more radical members made successive attempts to commit that body to authoritative declarations. Resolutions on the invasion of Kansas and the attack on Charles Sumner were introduced at the Chicago Conference in 1856, but withdrawn. Radical resolutions on the subject of slavery were offered a year later at Alton, Illinois; and although considerably modified before they were forced to a vote and passed, they were accompanied by a distinct declaration of the right to offer and pass more radical resolutions on any subsequent occasion. "Under these circumstances," declared Dr. Eliot, "and in this stage of affairs, being unwilling to vote either for or against the proposed statement, and regarding the whole action as subversive of the original uses of the organic law of the conference, I respectfully withdrew my name from the list of delegates, thereby intending to dissolve my connection with the conference as an associate body, at least so long as the construction of its rules, recently adopted, shall continue in force."

Immediately after this event, and in consequence of his action in withdrawing his name from the list of delegates of the conference, Dr. Eliot delivered a sermon on "Social Reform," at the Church of the Messiah, May 24, 1857. In

this sermon, which was published by request of the trustees, he expressed his views as to the duties, in matters of social reform, of a preacher, who should, he believed, in common with other Christians, claim the right of holding his own opinions upon all disputed subjects, and of expressing them frankly at the proper time and place in a becoming manner. In the assertion of these views from the pulpit, however, some discretion should be observed, self-restraint being often a more difficult virtue than inconsiderate speech, and requiring more courage, since it might be attributed to cowardice or time-serving.

Such subjects as slavery and temperance should, in Dr. Eliot's opinion, be treated in the pulpit exclusively from a moral and religious point of view, and not in their changing political and economical aspects when public feeling ran high. They were not topics of profitable address during periods of intense excitement.

"The peculiar characteristics of the gospel are," said Dr. Eliot: "I. That it deals with principles both of right and wrong, rather than with their particular manifestations. II. It deals with the individual rather than communities. . . . No social improvement is permanent except that which comes through individual virtue, and to elevate society you must regenerate the individuals of which it is composed. Other methods may serve or seem to serve for a time, but the

result is sure to be reaction of wrong and permanent disappointment."

Dr. Eliot believed that it was not incumbent upon a church as an assembly of believers to attempt social reorganization. It was rather the duty of its members as citizens; and the manner in which they performed this duty would depend upon the degree of their moral and religious regeneration.

The result of Dr. Eliot's endeavors to establish his church "in the principles of piety and the daily exercise of Christian benevolence and virtue," became gradually manifest in matters of social reform. The manumission of slaves was more and more frequent each year in the Church of the Messiah; and its pastor declared in a public address, delivered after the national emancipation, that for more than ten years previous to that event "no slave was held by any member of the church except under circumstances when age and debility would have rendered freedom a hardship, and its gift a violation of the golden rule."

In 1853 so many members of the Church of the Messiah had emancipated their slaves, that it was reported in a current journal as the "general action of the church." In reply, Mr. Eliot published a statement in which he declared that many church members had freed their slaves, but no general action had been taken. Consider-

ing the helplessness of many slaves, emancipation would not always be a kindness. "I do not hesitate to say," Mr. Eliot wrote, "although by saying it I forfeit the good opinion of some who have intended to exalt me by their praise, that I know of instances in my own Society in which I would not *advise* the present emancipation of those held in bondage. I mean that, considered in the light of Christian obligation, I would not advise it. The substance of my preaching upon this subject and upon all others is the same, 'to do as we would be done by.'"

Mr. Eliot himself some years previously had been severely censured for his "complicity with slavery," and accused of being "a slaveholder." The facts were these, as related in a private communication to his friend, James Freeman Clarke. The master of a negro woman was insolvent, and the woman was to be sold with the ordinary chances of being sent South. Mr. Eliot purchased her, and immediately gave her papers under which she could at any hour claim her freedom. She remained voluntarily in his family, working for wages, two and a half years. Then, as she was married, Mr. Eliot preferred to place her at housekeeping, canceling the balance of $300 due him, and manumitting her in open court. At the time the letter to Mr. Clarke was written, "Aunt Amanda was a very respectable woman, at housekeeping, but unable to make

the two ends meet without assistance" from Mr. Eliot.

On another occasion, as related in his "Life of Archer Alexander," at the entreaty of the father, a free colored man, who had bought his own freedom, and had just finished paying for himself, Dr. Eliot purchased a young mulatto girl, to save her from being sold "South" away from her family. As the former master insisted that the bill of sale should be made out to Dr. Eliot, he was the owner of the girl for two hours, when she became a free woman. The father of the girl raised the cash payment, and met the notes as soon as due. Dr. Eliot's interest in the emancipation of the race included action for its individual members, the helpless bondmen and bondwomen who appealed to him; and he did not agree with those over-conscientious people who believed it wrong to purchase and free slaves to save them from the worst evils of their condition. It was a case of rendering unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's.

Dr. Eliot always declared that education had been an important factor in preparing the public mind to accept the emancipation of the slave as the wisest and best policy. To illustrate the dread inspired in the South by the progressive influences of education, he asserted in his Phi Beta Kappa address, previously referred to, that "at the time when the rebellion began, the plan

had been matured for a great Southern university, under especial auspices of Bishop Otis and Bishop (afterwards Major-General) Polk, to be established in Tennessee, with an immense endowment, so as to make the whole South independent of Northern institutions. No professor was to be employed who was not sound in Southern politics and no class-book admitted which called slavery in question. Thus, discouraging popular education, the South desired to establish colleges in which an aristocratic governing class might be trained for the support of slavery."

As president of the public school board, as curator of the State University at Columbia, and lastly in his work of creating and shaping a great university system, Dr. Eliot was helping to win Missouri for freedom, while endeavoring to make St. Louis one of the great educational centres of the West.

We have Dr. Eliot's own testimony to the fact that he preached on the subject of slavery once or twice every year. In January, 1848, he delivered an address before the Colonization Society, wherein he declared that he had been a friend of the Society for fifteen years, and was more and more so; that although the inadequacy of the means to the end sought seemed discouraging, it should not be so regarded. The work of the Society was based on the theory of the gradual emancipation of the slave, and not

on immediate abolition, which would make it impossible to provide for so large a number at once. Now if any State passed a gradual emancipation law, the coöperation of the Colonization Society would be important. Soon afterwards Dr. Light of the Colonization Society occupied Dr. Eliot's pulpit for his cause, and $150 was subscribed.

"In 1849, when the erection of a new church was under discussion," wrote Dr. Eliot, "with a view to frankly defining his position and that of his church on the slavery question, the pastor (Dr. Eliot) gave a short series of sermons on 'The Family Relations,' the last of which was that of master and servant. The slavery question and Fugitive Slave Law were then in the height of bitter controversy, and a large congregation assembled. The ground taken was that the spirit of Christianity was clearly opposed to slavery, and that no one could claim the right as a Christian to hold a slave, except under strict application of the law of doing as one would be done by, of which, in the complicated relations of society, cases might temporarily occur; and that no man in a Christian republic could be justly required to become an agent in returning a fugitive slave into bondage, although he might by refusal become subject to the penalties of the law, which he must patiently endure." After the delivery of this sermon a few persons left

the church, but the majority sustained the minister.

As in a sermon delivered at the outset of the Civil War, from the text "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," Dr. Eliot strongly condemned disobedience of law and the Constitution, the Fugitive Slave Law seems to have been the only legal enactment against which his conscience rebelled to the point of counseling resistance.

From 1847 to 1849, Mr. Eliot published in the daily journals a number of articles in favor of gradual emancipation. These were in the form of letters, to which was attached sometimes his own signature, but more frequently a *nom de plume*. These letters were thoroughly practical and argumentative, replete with facts and figures, and urged gradual emancipation in Missouri purely on economic grounds. In a letter signed "Free Labor," Mr. Eliot asked the citizens of Missouri to dispassionately consider the question freely discussed in Kentucky and Virginia: "What do we gain by slave labor?" If they would do this, he maintained, it would not be ten years before some law for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Missouri would be passed. A humane master, and most masters he believed were humane, could not make slavery profitable. A change must take place in the whole system of labor; but time, Mr. Eliot believed, was neces-

sary for this, and also to prepare the slaves in Missouri for freedom. He had been called a "negro lover" by a correspondent of the "Republican," whereas the only objection that could be urged against gradual emancipation in the State was that it would do the blacks more harm than good, inasmuch as two thirds of them would probably be sent to the South before the law could go into effect. Mr. Eliot concluded by saying that notwithstanding this drawback he advocated such a law, because he desired to see a fair chance given to the white man, which he never could have where slavery existed.

To this letter a correspondent in the "Republican" replied, not with argument, but invective, which gave Mr. Eliot an opportunity for further argument. "The point in discussion is," he declared, "whether some mode can be devised by which the evil of negro slavery can be removed without violating the rights of anybody." He suggested that this be done by Southerners themselves. "Everybody admits," he continued, "that in a State so far north as Missouri slavery is a curse, and the majority would be glad of any lawful mode of getting rid of it." The letter concluded thus: "For our own part we are ready everywhere to avow ourselves friends of gradual emancipation. In this we believe we belong to the school of Henry Clay, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington, all of whom

were advocates of the most rapid extinguishment of slavery consistent with law or order. . . . We hold ourselves ready to prove to any disinterested or interested person that the worst investment any man can make is in slaves, and that the more of them we have in this State the poorer we are."

The promise contained in the last paragraph of this letter was later fulfilled in an article written to prove the unprofitableness of slave labor. In St. Louis prime house servants (male) could be hired out for $150 per year, women for $75. Servants thus hired out soon became discontented and worthless, and for this reason preference was more and more given every year to white servants at higher wages. In the country slave labor appeared to be equally unprofitable, $100 on an average being received by the owner for the hire of his best field hands. Even this amount was too large for the payer, since white labor could be obtained for $10 a month, without the added expense of clothing and care in sickness. This was the result of the large foreign immigration.

Mr. Eliot then prophesied the gradual extinguishment of slavery in Missouri from natural causes. These were the large influx of the German population, amounting to nearly one hundred thousand persons, very few of whom employed slave labor; the great increase of

anti-slavery feeling in the free States bordering on Missouri, which occasioned a great number of slaves to run away from their owners; lastly, the nature of the soil, which was not adapted to slave labor. To prove that these natural causes were working in the direction indicated, tables were given to show that while the proportion of the slave to the free population increased from 1810 to 1830, from 1830 to 1845 it had decreased from one fifth to one seventh.

January 8, 1849, Mr. Eliot wrote to Hon. William Campbell of the Missouri Senate, requesting information regarding the tone of feeling towards slavery in the General Assembly. Mr. Eliot, in this letter, gave his estimate of the number of slaves in Missouri as about seventy thousand; the number of slaveholders ten or twelve thousand, and the number interested in the continuance of the slave system not more than fifty or sixty thousand. He also expressed the opinion that the majority of the people of the State, if left to their own action, would be in favor of a moderate, judicious law of gradual emancipation, if the matter could be properly placed before them. He further suggested that he could easily send Mr. Campbell, as an entering wedge, a petition, with a sufficient number of good signatures to insure respect.

Also, January 13, 1849, the following letter was sent to Hon. Thomas H. Benton, at that

time, and until 1850, United States Senator from Missouri: —

Hon. Thomas H. Benton:

Dear Sir, — My acquaintance with you is too slight to justify me in the course which I am now taking, and I must find my apology in the importance of my subject, and in the strong interest you have always felt in the prosperity of this State. A residence of more than fourteen years in St. Louis, and careful observation of the progress of society, not only in the city, but throughout the State, have led me to believe that the institution of slavery is the greatest obstacle, perhaps the only great obstacle, by which our moral, social, and general advance as a people is hindered.

Next to the immediate duties of my profession, therefore, there is no object which I have so much at heart as the commencement of some movement by which an emancipation law in some form or other could be secured. It is to learn your views upon this subject that I now write. Your influence in Missouri is so great, and so well established, that almost any measure advised by you would not only command favorable hearing, but would probably meet with general favor. Has not the time for action upon this great interest arrived? Is not an opportunity offered of covering your name with the glory not only of the statesman, but of the philanthropist, by numbering this among the free States? I believe that the public mind is so far prepared that if you were to take the lead, the majority are ready to follow. If you will consent to draw up a law providing for the gradual emancipation of our slaves, say in course of ten, twenty, or thirty years, upon some system which would protect the interests of all parties as far as possible, it would become the law of the land before three years had passed. The reaction in the public mind produced by the half efforts of the abolition party has now nearly or quite subsided, and the mass of the people are ready to consider their own interests, and the rights of others, dispassionately.

It would be impertinent for me to make further suggestions upon a subject on which you are so thoroughly informed. My own feelings are in favor of prudent, conservative legislation, and I believe that all great changes in the social system, to be well made, must be gradual. But the beginning cannot be made too soon, and in this case it is the first step which costs.

As a clergyman I am debarred from all action in what are termed politics, nor have I any desire to overstep my proper limits; but I should account myself indeed happy if I could be in any way instrumental in unbinding the energies of this State by giving *respect to labor*, which cannot be done while we have slavery as a system within our border. I hope, therefore, that you will pardon my present intrusion, for which I have no other motive than a desire to do good.

If you should honor me with a reply, no public use shall be made of it unless by your direction.

And I remain with great respect,
Yours,

W. G. Eliot.

There is no record that any action towards gradual emancipation in Missouri was taken by either Mr. Campbell or Senator Benton, although Benton was opposed to slavery. He is quoted as saying: "The incurability of the evil is the greatest objection to the extension of slavery. If it is wrong for the legislature to inflict an evil which can be cured, how much more to inflict one that is incurable and against the will of the people who are to endure it forever. I quarrel with no one for deeming slavery a blessing. I deem it an evil, and would neither adopt it nor impose it upon others."

It is doubtful if at this period Senator Benton could have effected the legislation desired by Mr. Eliot. In 1849 the "Jackson Resolutions," embodying the nullification doctrines of Calhoun, were introduced in the General Assembly of Missouri. They denied the right of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery, excepting some special provisions relating to the abolition of the African slave trade, and to the recovery of fugitive slaves. It was also declared that the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belonged exclusively to the people thereof. These resolutions closed with a covert threat of secession should any Act of Congress be passed in conflict with the principles expressed.

Benton, a strong Union man, vigorously opposed these resolutions. His efforts to defeat them through an appeal to the people of the State of Missouri were unsuccessful, and he failed of reëlection to the Senate in 1850. He represented Missouri in the House of Representatives from 1852 to 1854, and opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. "The times were out of joint," and great as his influence had been, he could not "set them right." The country was in too inflamed a condition for the passage of emancipation laws, and slowly and surely the final catastrophe of civil war was approaching. Dr. Eliot at first hoped that it might be averted, but soon recognized that the conflict was inevitable.

While working to ameliorate the attendant suffering and sorrow, he renewed his efforts for the emancipation of the slave.

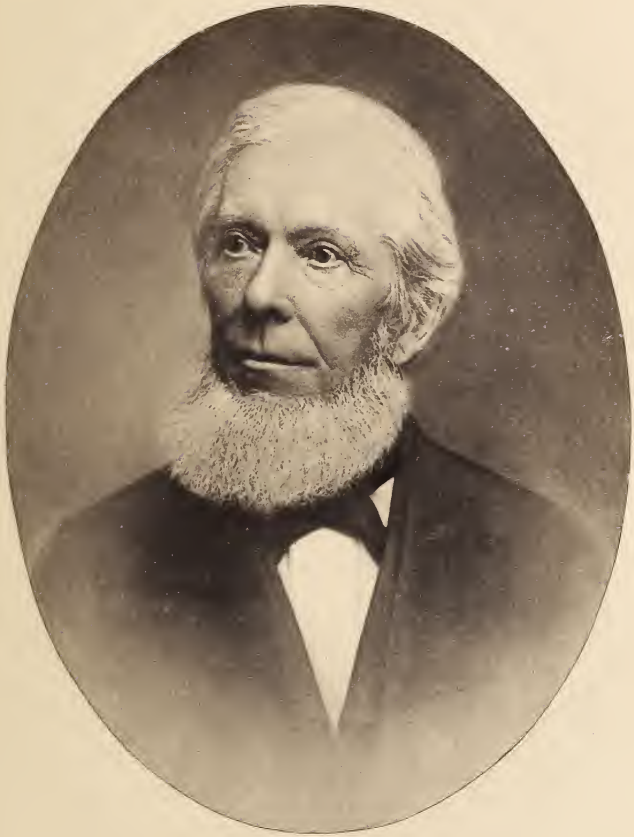
In 1884, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Church of the Messiah, Dr. Eliot preached a sermon in which he declared that that church had always stood for the "cause of freedom." "They who believe," he said, "in the intrinsic dignity of human nature can never willingly impose or endure tyranny over the mind or conscience or personal freedom. If man, however degraded by sin or ignorance, is created in the image of God and capable of rising to the glorious liberty of the sons of God, then to enslave a man both mind and body is the ultimate sin and crime against God and humanity.

"Believing this, by the first principle of our religious faith, it was easy, it was unavoidable, for us to take the freedom side in the great national controversy that began to assume its fiercest aspect fifty years ago. In 1834 the angry disturbance of thought was just reaching this city. The Missouri Compromise had been made, and it was hopefully supposed that the question of slavery rights was settled forever. But in New England the abolition tide was fiercely rising, and the noise of its waves was already heard here. In the spring of 1834 Elijah P. Lovejoy began the free discussion of the subject, taking strong ground against slavery; and in 1836 his press was

destroyed by a mob. He went to a free State for free speech, and was murdered there.

"In those early days our church took no part in such controversy, for it had as yet no standing place nor influence, nor had its minister. But I am glad to remember that from the very first it came to be quietly understood that we were on the side of freedom. In the winter of 1836, in the Presbyterian Church, before a citizens' meeting, I read an address on the history of Missouri; and speaking of its admission as a slave State said that 'instead of bonfires and rejoicings the people should have clothed themselves in sackcloth and ashes, in view of the social and moral evil thus entailed upon them.' The address was sent to the 'North American Review' in Boston, but to my mortification, when printed, those sentences were left out, 'as being too radical.' Nor was any year permitted to pass without finding some occasion for similar and definite expression of where we stood.

"In 1850, when the plans for building a new church were nearly matured, the whole country was under intense excitement because of the Fugitive Slave Law then recently passed. I thought that honesty demanded that I should define my position so that they who were invited to our support should not be deceived, and I spoke plainly in opposition to that law, from the text, 'Do as you would be done by.' A few were repelled,



W. G. Eliot.

but our Society was strengthened. And so it came to pass that in 1856 not one of our regular supporters held a slave in bondage, except in two or three instances where emancipation would have been cruelty.

"In looking back to those days I see nothing to repent of in this regard. It is true that an eminent preacher in an Eastern city said to me, by way of rebuke, that 'for a Unitarian clergyman to preach in such manner as to be endured in a slave State was good evidence of his unfaithfulness.' But if all the friends of freedom in St. Louis had acted on that principle, the leaven would have been taken from the lump, and Missouri, when the time of trial came, would have been lost to the Union, — a loss that might have changed the result of the Civil War. Where the service of God is the motive and the work, 'to possess one's soul in patience is sometimes the law of courage and wisdom and success.' . . .

"It seems like a dream of fearful things, a nightmare from which one cannot wake himself, that terrible experience of twenty-four years ago. Up to the last minute we had said, 'Peace, peace,' and refused to believe that an appeal to arms would come. But when the sword was once drawn, and the supreme law of the nation was defied and the life of the republic was threatened, we did not hesitate a moment where to stand.

"I remember when, before a crowded audi-

ence, I had declared my convictions in terms perhaps too emphatic, — for to some they gave unnecessary offence, — at the close of the address the national hymn was sung. It began with a full volume of a thousand voices, as a triumphant song, but tears ran down many a furrowed cheek, and voices trembled and fell off as if choked by strong feeling, and at its close the words were uttered with suppressed emotion and whispering lips. The great congregation separated almost in silence, with little mutual greeting, as those who had buried a friend. But with us the die was cast. Our choice of roads was taken.

" Full one fourth, numerically reckoned, of our usual congregation left us, believing me to be wrong ; and few of these returned. But the bone and sinew and heart and brains held fast, and the four years of crucial trial were bravely borne. Is it not all the more pleasant for us to remember that our whole influence, individually and collectively, was given to lessen the severities of strife, not unnecessarily to increase them ; to soften, not aggravate, the sufferings and hardships of war, remembering that those whom we resisted were *hostes non inimici,* opponents not enemies ; and that our hands could minister, as they did, to the wounded and sick of our own armies and equally to prisoners whom the strife brought to our doors? We never forgot that it was a fraternal strife. . . . Therefore, when the conflict

was over, no bitterness of feeling remained towards us with those whom we had estranged, and some of them returned with undiminished regard.

"Well, it is past and gone. The great experiment of a free republic has not yet been fully tried, but that one great step has been taken. Whenever as a nation, in every part of it, we shall have learned 'that we are members one of another, and whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one member rejoice all the members rejoice with it,' then, and not before, will the victory be complete. Our national motto will be vindicated. 'From many we shall indeed be one.'"

CHAPTER VII

MISSOURI DURING THE CIVIL WAR

An institution like slavery, which exists in opposition to the conscientious convictions of any large number of the citizens of a country, is a constant source of irritation. Compromises and concessions, based on no fundamental principle of right, may defer the inevitable conflict, but cannot permanently avert it; and when it comes it must be fought to a definite issue. Thus was it in the Civil War, a struggle whose moral grandeur has never been equaled.

In this fratricidal strife the North suffered and the South. Between the two the unhappy Border States, for which both parties were contending, became their battle-ground; while at the same time they were socially distracted by the divided allegiance of their own citizens. Nowhere was the internal struggle fiercer or more sanguinary than in Missouri, where every town and village was divided against itself; party differences whetted personal enmities, and guerrilla warfare became a cloak for wanton pillage and murder.

The attitude of Missouri at the outbreak of

the Civil War was substantially the same as that of the other Border States. At the time of the presidential election in the fall of 1860, Lincoln had received one tenth only of the votes cast, and this represented the Unconditional Union vote of the State, principally German. The remaining nine tenths of the people agreed that the North must give the South constitutional guarantees for the protection of slavery; and should this fail to be done, and the Southern States in consequence secede, the Federal government must not undertake to coerce them to remain in the Union.

The secessionists believed that a Southern Confederacy would be established, and that it was the duty of Missouri to unite with the South in resistance to the Federal government, should coercion be attempted. They were anxious and ready for secession. To this party belonged the great majority of the members of the General Assembly, the governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, and other officials.

The Conditional Union men regarded the possible dissolution of the Union with sorrow and apprehension, and desired to avert such a catastrophe. Although ready to declare with the secessionists that in the event of war Missouri would resist any attempt to coerce seceding States, a position from which a large number eventually receded, they clung to the hope that the North

would concede to the South certain constitutional guarantees for the better protection and extension of slavery, and thereby the danger of secession would be averted. The Unconditional Union party gradually won many accessions from their ranks. Hamilton R. Gamble, the "war governor," was prominent among Conditional Union men.

Dr. Eliot was, as might be supposed, an Unconditional Union man. This party unfortunately was divided into radicals and conservatives, whose differences of opinion as to methods to be employed were a constant source of distraction, and became very annoying to President Lincoln. Dr. Eliot always referred to himself as a "conservative," a term which applied rather to his mode of action than his ultimate aim, which from the first contemplated nothing less than the final extinction of slavery. He frequently differed from more radical men as to the means to be used in the attainment of that object, deprecating unnecessary harshness, and keeping constantly in view the reëstablishment of harmonious relations, which he believed would follow the abolition of slavery in Missouri. Through the confidence in his judgment, and in the singleness of his devotion to the national cause, with which later he inspired the President and the authorities at Washington, as well as many other persons with or without official position, he was instrumental during the Civil War in effecting

the accomplishment of many important measures.

On Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1860, before yet secession was an accomplished fact, Dr. Eliot preached a sermon in which — after declaring that the appropriate subject belonging to the day would seem to be the National Union, the blessings which we have enjoyed under it and the madness of disturbing it — he asserted that he was not properly prepared to discuss the matter. "I do not know," he added, "how it may be with younger men; but those of us who have come anywhere near to middle age, still more those who have gone beyond the point of middle age as I have, *we* feel upon this subject with a depth of feeling very difficult to express. . . . I cannot bring myself to believe that this evil (disunion) is imminent. It is too terrible. It passes the bounds of human feeling." Then, in hopeful strain, he declared his faith in the *people*, in the conservatism of the majority, and in an overruling Providence which "had not yet accomplished the great purposes designed to be accomplished by this people."

On the last day of December the Missouri General Assembly convened at Jefferson City amid great excitement. South Carolina had, on the 20th of December, passed an ordinance of secession, and most of the Southern States were on the verge of following her example. In the

Missouri Senate there was but *one* Republican, in the House there were twelve. The governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, represented extreme Southern sentiment. An ordinance of secession would have received almost unanimous endorsement of the legislature. Fortunately it was decided to refer the question to the people. A bill to call a state convention passed both Houses on the 18th of January.

On the 27th of that month Dr. Eliot preached a sermon on "The Higher Law Doctrine North and South." The "appeal to a higher law" was then an expression much in vogue among extremists of both parties, Northern radicals and Southern secessionists. In commenting on the political situation Dr. Eliot said: "All over the land the question of disunion is freely discussed, — a word which we ought not to hear without shuddering, — and in our own State a convention of the people has been called, to consider what part we shall take in that which many persons regard as the inevitable disruption. Perhaps in the present state of the public mind the call has been wisely made, though I do not myself see its necessity. But that such a convention is to be held, for such a purpose, especially if we admit its necessity, is a fact well calculated to excite patriotic fears, and to arouse us to the most diligent performance of our duty. As it looks to me from the teachings of history, from

our knowledge of human nature, and from the angry passions already working, both at the North and South, the question to be discussed may involve not only disunion, but social disorganization, civil commotion, civil war, servile war, anarchy, military despotism, national ruin. It may be to decide upon the destruction of the grandest republic the world has ever seen; upon the continued success or total failure of the great experiment of American freedom.

"For the consideration of this question . . . at the end of two weeks' excited debate, a convention has been called, and in about two months it will have been determined under all the chances of excited popular elections what part this State shall take, for good or evil, in its final settlement. . . . In all the records of modern history, was there ever so momentous a question, so precipitately considered as this, which Missouri, in common with the other Border States, is now, with such hot haste, placing in issue? Surely it is not a healthy condition of the public mind or of political morals in which the foundations of society can be so easily disturbed. There must be some hidden cause . . . to account for the sudden and calamitous outbreak."

This hidden cause of the precipitate movement towards dissolution of the Union Dr. Eliot found, not in slavery, nor the Fugitive Slave Law, nor in any conflict of principles, but in "disloyalty,

contempt, and disregard of law." The question was, he declared, whether in a republic law can be made and held sacred. American loyalty was allegiance to the law, to the Constitution, to the Union. The law is our ultimate appeal. The Constitution is our monarchy. The Union is our king. Resistance to law, by communities or individuals, is nothing else than rebellion. Disloyalty to the Union, and resistance to it, is nothing else than treason.

"Resistance to constituted authorities," continued Dr. Eliot, "has been and is defended under the captivating name of the 'Higher Law Doctrine;' just as disloyalty and revolution find an attractive form in the doctrine of secession. . . . Resistance to law is defended as the 'appeal from Cæsar to God.' . . . Under rare circumstances this higher law may stand in direct conflict with the 'authorities that be;' . . . but let us not be deceived by words. To the state or community this is nothing but the right of revolution; to the individual it is the call to martyrdom.

"To the State of Missouri, whatever the other States may do, the words of practical wisdom are very plain. Be loyal; be conservative; be deliberate in all your counsels and all your actions. Exhaust all constitutional remedies before so much as considering any other. In the Union and under the law demand that, and only that, which is just and right. Consider maturely, and

count the cost, before taking the leap in the dark; for the worst condition possible for us in the Union may be better than the best we can reasonably expect out of it; and if the time ever comes, which God forbid! for the severance of the sacred bonds of alliance between us and our sister States, let us not deceive ourselves by calling it 'peaceable secession.' It may seem to be so in its first movement. Perhaps no direct collision with the general government or the neighboring States would immediately occur, nor is it probable that measures of coercion would be rashly used. But a few months or years would certainly develop the act in its true character, in the fearful consequences of revolution and civil war."

This sermon was delivered to a large audience, the church being filled to overflowing. It was asserted by a prominent member of the congregation that many of Dr. Eliot's hearers, who had previously wavered, allied themselves soon afterwards to the Union cause, and among them were persons of influence in the community who had previously assented to the proposition that Missouri must go with the South. The sermon was published and circulated throughout the Border States and in Boston, and Dr. Eliot received many letters of commendation and approval.

On the 18th of February occurred the election of delegates to the state convention. Contrary

to the expectations of the secessionists, the people of Missouri declared against secession by a majority of eighty thousand. The result was disappointing to the South, although the convention was very conservative. Dr. Eliot wrote in a private letter, afterwards published: "At first we made a fair show of loyalty, but it was loyalty with conditions. In our convention, which showed seventy to thirty for the Union, only four voted against the conditional clause."

Early in January a military bill, empowering the governor to arm and equip the militia and get the State ready for war, was introduced in the General Assembly. After the people of Missouri declared against secession, the bill was defeated, and the legislature adjourned on the 28th of March. When it reconvened on the 2d of May, the governor, in his opening address, recommended that "Missouri unite her destinies with those of the other slave States, and prepare to protect her people against all assailants." He urged the passage of the military bill, which would confer upon him almost dictatorial powers to resist Federal authority. The news of the taking of Camp Jackson removed all opposition, and the bill was passed. A military fund was created, into which the school fund and all other available moneys of the State were ordered to be paid, and in consequence it became necessary to close the public schools.

On June 12th, in virtue of the power thus conferred upon him by the legislature, Governor Jackson, in open hostility to the national government, called fifty thousand militia, over whom Sterling Price was appointed by him major-general, into the active service of the State, and in a remarkable proclamation called upon them to "drive out ignominiously the invaders," as he termed the Federal troops. This terminated the local self-government of Missouri; and on the 31st of July the Missouri state convention organized a provisional government, with Hamilton R. Gamble as governor of Missouri.

Early in 1861 General Harney had been placed at the head of the Department of the West. His sympathies were with the South, and although not actually disloyal, he had not sufficient mental acumen to penetrate the designs of the wily politicians of Jefferson City. In the Price-Harney agreement he virtually turned Missouri over to the tender care of Sterling Price, pledging the Union forces to inactivity. He was summoned to Washington, and in his absence Lyon and Blair broke up the rebel encampment at Camp Jackson. On his return he issued a proclamation under date of May 14, very satisfactory to the Union men. We find in Dr. Eliot's journal a printed copy, and penciled on the margin this note: "As I had a small hand in the following, I put it in. *Written by General E. A. Hitchcock and revised by me.*"

In this document the military bill enacted at Jefferson City was characterized as an "indirect secession ordinance," and Camp Jackson was termed "a body of men notoriously organized in the interest of the secessionists." After citing facts in proof of this latter assertion, it was declared that "no government in the world would be entitled to respect that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations." In the closing paragraph of the proclamation was this emphatic declaration: "I regard it as my plain path of duty to express to the people, in respectful but at the same time decided language, that within the field and scope of my authority the *supreme law* of the land must and shall be maintained."

Below the printed extract we again find this entry in Dr. Eliot's writing: "The first effect of this proclamation was very good, but a lack of persistent consistency prevented its full effect. General Harney was relieved May 27, by orders dated the 16th, which Frank Blair held for use at his discretion."

In this proclamation, to which General Harney attached his signature, it was stated that Missouri, from her geographical situation, was so essential to the Union that the whole power of the government of the United States, if necessary, would be exerted to maintain her in her position in the Union. Dr. Eliot always asserted that the pos-

session of St. Louis and Missouri was of supreme importance to the success of the Union cause. In a public address, delivered in 1864, he used these words: "What would have been lost to the Union if Missouri had been forced out as Arkansas and Louisiana were, and how difficult, if not impossible, it would have been to maintain the national cause, a glance at the map would show. I doubt if a Southern Confederacy would have been attempted if the loss of that State had been foreseen; and the plans of rebellion were as carefully laid at Jefferson City (of which there is now proof) as at Charleston. The firmness with which St. Louis stood is the explanation of the unexpected result."

Early in July, Major-General Frémont took command of the Department of the West. His position was one of great difficulty. Nominally loyal, Missouri was riddled with secession. Called upon to send troops to Washington, the State itself had need of assistance from without against internal foes. So impressed was Dr. Eliot with the inability of the authorities at Washington to understand the serious condition of affairs in Missouri, and to thoroughly appreciate the importance of securing the State to the Union cause, that on September 8, 1861, he sent the following letter to the Secretary of the Treasury: —

Hon. S. P. Chase:

Dear Sir, — Will you permit me again to address you upon public affairs, and to request you to lay my letter before the

President if you consider it worthy of such regard. My desire is to call your attention to the critical condition of Missouri, and the necessity of a vigorous policy and strong measures to save it from complete demoralization. The great difficulty is that two thirds of the people of the State are disloyal, and a large part of the remainder inactive. . . . The rebels seem determined to force Missouri from the Union by first making it impossible for Union men to live here. . . . Nothing but a strong army of occupation can hold the State and prevent its social destruction.

A month ago we were on the brink of ruin. I *have reason to know* that an uprising of the secessionists, aided by large numbers of floating population not belonging to us in St. Louis, was fully arranged to welcome the rebel armies. The day was fixed, the plans matured. Pillow, Hardee, and McCullough, counting confidently on Lyon's defeat, expected to meet here by the 20th of August. They knew the utterly defenceless condition of St. Louis, that we had neither troops nor ammunition and no organization of the Union part of the people. They knew by their spies here that General Frémont had no means of reinforcing Lyon, and were therefore sure of victory. . . . I knew at the time of the condition of the arsenal, that it was empty of arms and ammunition; and of the troops in and near the city, that they were very few and badly officered, and nearly all of them at the point of disbanding. . . . Then came the necessity of sending reinforcements to Byrd's Point, threatened by Pillow, and Pilot Knob and Cape Girardeau threatened by Hardee, without which those points would have been taken; and there were no troops left. Lyon knew all this, and knew that there was no help here, and would not be for some days. With a nobleness of which there are few examples, with heroic self-sacrifice, he threw himself into the breach, determined to cripple the enemy and destroy their plans. He gained a splendid victory in seeming defeat, and saved the city and State. Let his name be held in honor as long as the Union endures.

He saved the city and the State for the time, and gave opportunity which has been actively improved for defence and preparation. But the danger in the State is not yet passed, and there will be need of other equal sacrifices and unequal conflicts, unless the condition of Missouri is better understood, and greater strength concentrated here. I claim to be better informed than the majority of our citizens of the actual number and condition of troops here; my interest in the hospitals and sick has led me to visit the camps and observe the men both as to numbers and discipline, and I assure you, sir, that if you consider the importance of this State to the Union, and the disloyalty of its citizens, and the manifest eagerness of the slave power to keep it, we have not one half the strength we need. Missouri once lost could not be recovered, and its loss would be an almost fatal blow to the North. . . . Pardon my intrusion. My whole heart is in this cause. The war of barbarism against civilization, of slavery against freedom, is the great event of the nineteenth century. May God protect the right!

Yours sincerely,

W. G. Eliot.

In August Dr. Eliot had addressed also Attorney-General Bates, on the necessity of sending reinforcements to Missouri to save the State to the Union. The attorney-general appears to have realized the importance of such a step, as he wrote: "Next after the sure defence of the city (Washington), and the sure possession of the great strategic point, Cairo, I have for several months back urged the concentration of a force in Missouri that would look down opposition, that would have prevented insurrection, secured internal tranquillity, and saved the necessity of conquest."

In a private letter, later published, Dr. Eliot expressed the opinion that after the capture of Camp Jackson a large army should immediately have been brought into Missouri, and resistance made impossible. "The heroic Lyon," wrote Dr. Eliot, "undertook to effect with ten thousand men what would have been hard work for fifty thousand, — the control of the State. Everywhere he found himself marching through a hostile country. A very few followed him. But while Price's army increased like a rolling snowball, and men joined his ranks with shotguns, pistols, scythes, so eager were they to fight, Lyon's army dwindled day by day. It must be recruited from St. Louis, if at all." As a result of this inability on the part of the government to realize fully the needs of Missouri, Dr. Eliot felt that General Frémont had been held responsible for misfortunes he was unable to avert.

In his letter to Secretary Chase Dr. Eliot had referred to his unusual opportunities of judging of the actual number and condition of troops in St. Louis, his interest in the hospitals and sick having led him to visit the camps and observe the men both as to numbers and discipline. With the discipline he was far from satisfied, and on September 2 he wrote a letter to Mrs. Frémont, requesting that she bring it to the attention of the General. In this communication he expressed the conviction that both officers and

men were lacking in *elevation of moral tone* and the higher incentives of patriotism. The officers, being inexperienced, could not enforce that strict military discipline which "in some degree takes the place of higher principle." He found "a profanity and coarseness of speech, a neglect of cleanliness and the amenities of life, a disregard of any observance of Sunday, and little to remind the men that they were members of a Christian community." Two things, he felt, were required in the camps, "discipline and enthusiasm, the enthusiasm of loyalty founded upon allegiance to God." He suggested that a more careful system be devised for the moral and religious culture of the men, and that more attention be paid to the decencies of life. Something, he thought, might be accomplished by the appointment of faithful chaplains, the establishment of hospital libraries, and by measures of sanitary reform; but the controlling influence must proceed from the high officers. "A distinct recognition of the principles above named," he wrote, "with a prohibition of the vices and vulgarities referred to, if made in a general order, would do a world of good. It would introduce a new feature in camp life, and if read before every regiment at dress parade every Sunday, by the colonel himself, would soon establish a standard of soldierly behavior, to which officers and men would conform."

This letter was sent September 3, 1861, and

further thought on the matter seems to have engendered in Dr. Eliot's own mind a plan for the organization of a Western Sanitary Commission. "Suggestions" to that effect, in the form of a plan of organization, were forwarded the following day to General and Mrs. Frémont, were copied by the latter from Dr. Eliot's manuscript exactly as written, and were issued by the General, September 10, as Special Order 159. Thus quickly was the Western Sanitary Commission created.

Whatever were General Frémont's failings as a military leader, he was always interested and active in the humanities of war. When he issued his proclamation of freedom to the slaves of disloyal masters in Missouri, August 30, 1861, Dr. Eliot hailed it as "the beginning of the end," and was of the opinion that the revocation of the order was a mistake, in which view he showed that at heart he was more radical than conservative. A year later, President Lincoln, in addressing the Border State delegation on the subject of compensated emancipation, said, referring to the slave States: "You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever." Dr. Eliot believed that slavery was the lever of the disloyal, and to break that lever early in the war would end the fratricidal contest. Patient as he was, when he believed the

moment for action had come, he could scarcely brook a moment's delay. Yet Lincoln was right! Frémont's act might have hastened the end of the strife in Missouri, but it transcended the provisions of the Congressional Confiscation Act of August 6, 1861, forced upon the President a responsibility of individual initiative which he could not well assume, and might in the country at large have produced a reaction of feeling.

On the 18th of August, 1861, as "a matter of positive obligation," since his "convictions were too strong to be repressed," Dr. Eliot preached a patriotic sermon, which was published under the title of "Loyalty and Religion." In this address he reaffirmed with even greater emphasis the duties of citizenship. Premising that the supreme allegiance is to God, he declared that "a part of our duty to God was duty to the State," that "submission to law was among the prime duties of religion," and that the "Supreme Law of the Land" partook "of the sacredness of the Supreme Law of God."

The sermon on "The Higher Law" had been delivered while war was still a menace. Now it was a fearful reality, and Missouri was passing through one of its darkest periods of trial. The war, Dr. Eliot believed, could not have been averted. If the general government had consented to the dismemberment of the nation and its own virtual

destruction without one effort made, or one blow struck, it would have been a thing without parallel in history. As for Dr. Eliot himself, he declared he must speak on this subject, it was a matter of positive obligation, and his long citizenship, during which no one had worked harder for the welfare of St. Louis than he, entitled him to a respectful hearing. "My life, my happiness, my hopes," he declared, "whether of usefulness or of enjoyment, are so intertwined with the prosperity of St. Louis, that I have no thought beyond. To meet with failure here is to have failed in the work of life." "I would not live," he added, "in a community whose patriotism is dead, for it would not be worth working for, nor capable of improvement."

Believing and maintaining that armed neutrality was an impracticable position, that citizens of Missouri must stand on one side or the other, and that not to be loyal was to be disloyal, Dr. Eliot said: "At present the great battle for the Union is here. If Missouri were permanently lost to the Union, it would be an irreparable blow, and the strength of the government would be effectually broken. . . . We may take it for granted, therefore, that the most terrible struggle will take place, even to the devastation of the whole State, before its secession or its conquest by the South will be conceded. . . . What then shall we do? How manifest allegiance and resist revolution? . . .

We should give our whole undivided influence, by word and deed, to sustain the cause of the United States, by holding our own State in the Union.

" . . . War is not a Christian work, and the time will come for its abolition, as for that of all other social wrongs and evils. But it has not come yet, and under an existing state of war our Christian duties remain not less than in time of peace. . . . I hold it a Christian duty to defend our country from invasion and rebellion, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. Otherwise society would be completely in the hands of the wicked, and social progress would be impossible. There is also a difference in the conduct of warfare, and we may make it a war of barbarism, or of comparative humanity and civilization. . . . Let us do our part to keep Christian principles alive. . . . There are no circumstances in life under which a Christian may not do his whole duty. Our duty as patriots and our duty as Christians must be done, if at all, at one and the same time. . . . The seeming conflict of duties will end in the noblest service that can be performed by man."

Some among the crowded audience who listened to this sermon did not again return to the Church of the Messiah.

When it was decided that Dr. Eliot should go to Washington, in October, 1861, on business

connected with the Western Sanitary Commission, he thought it would be a favorable opportunity, in his interview with President Lincoln, to represent to him the condition and needs of Missouri. Colonel T. T. Gantt thereupon wrote to Governor Gamble requesting him to state, in a letter addressed either to the President or Dr. Eliot himself, the views which he, the governor, had said he would express to the authorities at Washington; namely, "that Missouri had neither money nor credit; that if any coöperation on the part of our state forces were desired, they must be furnished with arms and paid by the United States, and that this was the indispensable condition of any such coöperation; that the duty of the United States to protect us from invasion and to suppress insurrection obliged the United States to perform the task, either by United States troops, or by state troops paid by the United States." In conclusion, Colonel Gantt again requested the governor to declare in writing his "conviction of the absolutely destitute condition of Missouri, and of the aid which state forces might give to the national cause in the State, if equipped and paid by the United States, and of the duty of the United States to do this."

On the outside of a copy of this letter Dr. Eliot wrote in pencil: "Copy of letter from Mr. Gantt to Governor Gamble, from whom I took letter to President." That the interview was a successful

one is proved by the organization of the state militia that same fall on the terms suggested in Governor Gamble's letter, through a special agreement between himself and the President. Over this militia General Schofield was placed in command.

The fight for Missouri as a slave State was, after other methods failed, carried on by guerrilla warfare. Price, Hindman, and other rebel generals, arrogating to themselves dictatorial powers, gave authority to various persons to raise companies and regiments to operate as guerrillas. The helpless Union refugees fleeing before them bore witness to their barbarities. In the spring and summer of 1862, the rebel general, Hindman, organized a number of these lawless bands. To combat this evil throughout the State, and perform the service of an army of occupation, by an order of Governor Gamble, issued July 22, 1862, the militia of the State was enrolled. Unlike the state militia, paid by the government, the enrolled militia was exclusively a state organization, of which the expenses must be met by the State. There is record of at least *one* voluntary contribution for this object, in a letter under date of July 29, 1862, from General Schofield to Dr. Eliot, acknowledging from him the receipt of twenty-five dollars as "the first contribution to the State Fund." Probably Dr. Eliot thought that such action would be more generally taken, but

there is no record that his example was followed; and as the state treasury was empty, and it was very difficult to collect taxes, the only way of obtaining the necessary funds for arming and organizing the militia seemed at the time to be through substitute money or by assessments on the disloyal.

In an order issued by General Schofield, August 28, 1862, it was announced that an assessment of half a million dollars would be collected from secessionists and Southern sympathizers in St. Louis County to defray the expenses of the enrolled militia.

Regarding the wisdom of this order there was great difference of opinion. It was indeed true, as General Schofield stated, that lawless bands could not exist a single week in Missouri but for the aid of influential and wealthy sympathizers; yet there were many objections to the enforcement of so arbitrary a measure. Thus thought Dr. Eliot, and he drew up a memorial wherein he set forth good and sufficient reasons why the order of assessment should be revoked. This memorial was forwarded to Governor Gamble, December 1, 1862. It had been Dr. Eliot's intention to have the document signed by a number of influential persons, but after several had shown hesitation in doing so, he forwarded it to Governor Gamble over his own signature only. The memorial was as follows: —

To his Excellency Gov. H. R. Gamble:

Governor, — The undersigned, your memorialists, who are now, and always have been Unconditional Union men, and hearty supporters of the government, most respectfully represent: That the assessment now in progress, to be levied upon secessionists and Southern sympathizers, is working evil in this community, and doing great harm to the Union cause.

Among our citizens there are all shades of opinion, from that kind of neutrality which is little better than treason, through all the grades of lukewarmness and hesitancy, up to the unqualified loyalty which your memorialists in common with yourself claim to possess. To assort and classify these, so as to indicate the dividing line of loyalty and disloyalty, and to establish the ratio of payment by those falling below it, is a task of great difficulty. If it can be done at all, it must be by patient investigation and after hearing evidence on both sides, giving every person the opportunity of self-defense. It would require not only a competent tribunal, sitting for a great length of time, and possessed of full authority to call and examine witnesses under oath, but also a kind and degree of scrutiny inconsistent with republican institutions. Such an investigation, so far as practicable, has been attempted in the present case; but although the character and standing of the members of the Assessment Board give assurance that the faithful endeavor to be just and impartial has been made, yet they have been compelled to admit hearsay evidence, rumors, and "general impressions," and have in no case required witnesses to testify under oath. The unavoidable consequence has been that many feel themselves deeply aggrieved, not having supposed themselves liable to the suspicion of disloyalty; many escape assessment, who, if any, deserve it; and a general impression of inequality in the rule and ratio of assessment prevails. This was unavoidable because no two tribunals could agree upon the details of such assessment either

as to persons or amounts to be assessed, without more complete knowledge of facts than can be obtained from ex parte testimony and current reports. Nothing short of a thoroughly judicial investigation could lead to a satisfactory result.

Your memorialists also respectfully represent that nothing but clear evidence of disloyalty would justify assessment, and that where such evidence exists, the party so proved guilty should not be permitted to remain in the community without coming under heavy bonds, and in extreme cases should be required to go "beyond the lines." To keep such persons here, especially after they have been exasperated by fines, and held up to public contempt, is dangerous to the public peace, and gives the most favorable opportunity for treasonable practice. The great object is to free the community from all who are determined to promote disorder, and to give every encouragement to those who remain to fulfill the duties of loyalty and good citizenship. The doubtful should be brought back if possible, the wavering should be confirmed, and a door opened for the return of those who see the error of the past. The wise and energetic measures taken in this State the last six months, and since the assessment was ordered, have wrought a great change in these respects. The hope of disturbing the "status" of Missouri is well-nigh abandoned, and hundreds of those who, until lately, have scarcely known their own minds, are now openly avowing themselves on the right side. Enlightened policy, as well as the liberality of justice, dictates that where such avowal is seemingly made in good faith, and where no overt act has been committed, the retribution of the past should be foregone. Social quiet and the peace of neighborhood and returning homogeneousness of feeling should be encouraged by all practicable means, and by such methods of action the cause of loyalty is best strengthened. The bitterness likely to be engendered by the progressing assessment will renew the personal hostilities which were

beginning to disappear, and thus fanned, the secession element will refuse to die.

Your memorialists therefore *respectfully petition*, that you will use your influence, Governor Gamble, with the commanding general, and with the authorities at Washington, that the proceedings in assessment be stayed, at least until other methods of obtaining the funds required by the State shall have been first tried. Perhaps if the case were fully presented before Congress, the just demands of the State would be met, and the payment of our state militia, in defense of the common cause, would be made. If not, a special tax by the state legislature would be a preferable plan to that now adopted, and if unavoidable, after failure of other methods, the assessment could then be enforced as a last resort. But it is the opinion of your memorialists, that under anything short of congressional authority and judicial action, such assessments would only amount to a *forced loan*, for which reclamation would eventually be made and sustained.

December 1, 1862.

This memorial was signed "W. G. Eliot" only.

At the time this memorial was drawn up the banks of St. Louis had made a loan of $150,000 to the State to purchase arms for the militia. Payment had been guaranteed from funds to be collected through the proposed assessment of half a million dollars. The memorial was sent to Governor Gamble, December 1, 1862. On the following day the governor wrote to a member of the Board of Assessment to ascertain whether the banks making the loan would consent to release the security offered by the assessment, and

rely upon the State for the repayment of the money expended in its service. To this proposition all the banks immediately assented.

In a copy of the "Democrat," the leading Republican newspaper in St. Louis at that time, we find in the issue of June 13, 1863, an article headed "Interesting History." It is signed by a member of the Assessment Committee, James S. Thomas. The remaining incidents of this war episode are thus related by Mr. Thomas: "On the 15th of December, 1862, the Board was directed by General Curtis, under an order from Washington, to suspend for the present their collections. Two days afterwards I met Thomas J. Thompson of this county (who had been notified of his assessment and notified to pay), on Fourth Street. He informed me that he and Richard C. Shackelford, who was also assessed, had just arrived from Washington; that before he left (St. Louis) Governor Gamble gave them strong letters to Mr. Edward Bates at Washington, advising the setting aside of the assessment; that immediately on his arrival and delivery of Governor Gamble's letters, Mr. Bates went with them to see the President, and, upon their own statement, Governor Gamble's strong letters, and Mr. Bates's solicitations, one hour after their arrival at the President's house a telegram was written in their presence and sent to General Curtis, directing a suspension of the collections

until further orders. At the same time he (Mr. Thompson) handed me a copy of the telegram, saying that 'the President gave him a copy so there should be no mistake, and that the President was a mighty nice plain man, like yourself, and you should go to Washington to see him.'"

"On the 25th of December," continues Mr. Thomas, "the Board of Assessors called on General Curtis at his headquarters, when the General informed the Board that[1] . . . a good Union man, had got up a petition of remonstrance with many signatures (or 'rigmarole' as the General termed it), and that that petition after having been shown to him was taken to General Halleck at Washington, and on the strength of that petition and letters of Governor Gamble, the assessment was suspended by order of General Halleck. The petition of the[1] . . . set forth that this assessment was an arbitrary and oppressive proceeding."

Among Dr. Eliot's papers, there is an "official copy for Rev. Mr. Eliot" of a letter from General Halleck to General Curtis. It is addressed to Major-General S. R. Curtis, St. Louis.

December 15, 1862.

GENERAL, — I have received from the Rev. Dr. Eliot of St. Louis the documents forwarded by you in relation to the assessments ordered by Brigadier-General Schofield on the city and county of St. Louis, and have submitted them to the Secretary of War for his decision.

[1] Rev. Dr. Eliot.

I am instructed to say in reply that, as there seems to be no present military necessity for the enforcement of this assessment, all proceedings under the order of General Schofield will be suspended. Should new insurrections occur in Missouri, and the people of St. Louis again afford aid and comfort to the enemy, they may expect to suffer the legitimate consequences of such acts of treason.

Your obt. servant,

H. W. Halleck,
General-in-Chief.

Official copy,
I. C. Kelton,
Asst. Adjutant-General.

In the St. Louis "Republican" of May 16, 1875, appeared an account of the assessment proceedings of 1862, from which a paragraph follows: "The memorial or petition was written and signed by a clergyman of this city, who was known to be very active in the Union cause and a personal friend of President Lincoln. It was addressed to Governor Gamble, and by him endorsed and forwarded to the President. Mr. Lincoln read the memorial with care, turned it over and endorsed upon it: 'Stop the whole thing by telegraph,' and sent it to General Halleck."

On May 20, 1875, four days later, the following additional statement was made in an editorial in the "Republican": "We have been so frequently asked since Sunday who was the author of the memorial which caused the suspension of the assessment of 1862, that we regret having omitted his name from General Halleck's order

in which it appears. The writer and only signer of the memorial was the Rev. Dr. Eliot, who was at the time a member of the Western Sanitary Commission, which had the hospitals of the Western army under its control. It is to the credit of that Commission . . . that it obtained an order from Generals Frémont and Halleck to treat the sick and wounded of the Union and Confederate armies in exactly the same way, and to bury their dead with the same care and respect. In this way the severities of war were at least diminished, if not removed."

Military assessments were a severe remedy for a terrible evil. They were not in accordance with Lincoln's general policy, and an order to suspend them throughout the State of Missouri was issued January 20, 1863, by the Secretary of War.

CHAPTER VIII

EMANCIPATION AS A WAR MEASURE

From the beginning of the Civil War, Dr. Eliot believed that the extinction of slavery was its logical consequence and the only permanent solution of the otherwise irreconcilable conflict. This was his practical judgment, and also a conviction engendered by faith in an overruling Providence, whose larger purpose gradually unifies and absorbs all conflicting aims.

The congressional resolutions and enactments affecting the political status of the former slave, which were passed during the war period, and later embodied in the thirteenth and fourteenth constitutional amendments, indicate his progress from the condition of a chattel and "contraband of war" to that of freedman, soldier, and citizen of the republic.

Each successive step towards emancipation was hailed by Dr. Eliot as "the beginning of the end." He thus characterized the issuance of Frémont's order, granting freedom to the slaves of disloyal masters in Missouri, and the President's initiatory and final proclamations of emancipation. He was much disappointed, as already noted, by the

revocation of Frémont's order, and his brother, Hon. Thomas Dawes Eliot, representative to Congress from Massachusetts, evidently shared his opinions and feelings in the matter; for at the opening session of Congress, on December 2, 1861, he introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution wherein it was affirmed that in the judgment of that body the President of the United States, as the commander-in-chief of the army, had "the right to emancipate all persons held as slaves in any military district in a state of insurrection against the national government." It was also respectfully advised "that such order of emancipation be issued whenever the same will avail to weaken the power of the rebels in arms, or to strengthen the military power of loyal forces." This was an assertion of the principle finally embodied in the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, which extended its application to include the entire area in rebellion. The passage of such a resolution at this time would have conferred on the chief executive authority from Congress to approve such an order as General Frémont's. The resolution, however, was simply referred to the Committee on Judiciary. It was probably drawn up by Dr. Eliot himself and introduced by his brother at his request.

After President Lincoln's recommendation to Congress of a plan of compensated abolition of slavery in the border slave States, and the pas-

sage of a joint resolution of Congress, approved April, 1862, which pledged the aid of the government to any loyal State desiring to avail itself of this offer, it seemed as if a wise and satisfactory solution of a vexed problem had been reached. Unfortunately, a majority of the delegates from the border slave States refused to entertain the proposition. The President's preliminary proclamation of coming emancipation, issued September 22, 1862, contained a renewal of this offer of compensation of pecuniary aid to all loyal States who would voluntarily adopt the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery within their respective limits.

Two of the Republican members to Congress from Missouri, Senator Henderson and Representative Noell, each introduced, the one in the Senate, December 10, 1862, and the other in the House on the following day, a bill designed to aid the State of Missouri in compensated emancipation. The former bill called for an appropriation of twenty millions, the latter, ten millions, which latter bill passed the House by a large majority. It was sent to the Senate, and there superseded the Senate bill. As a result there was a vigorous discussion in the Senate as to which of the two amounts designated was the proper appropriation. On January 14, 1863, Dr. Eliot wrote to his brother, Hon. Thomas Dawes Eliot, in Washington, urging him to use all his influence

in the House towards effecting an acceptance of the terms proposed in the Senate. He, Dr. Eliot, would have been "satisfied" with less than twenty millions, but he did not regard the amount as excessive, considering that the abolition of slavery in Missouri would secure to the Union cause "a State as large as England, in the centre of the Union, commanding the highway to the Pacific, controlling the mouths of the Illinois and Ohio rivers, five hundred miles of the Mississippi, the whole of the Missouri (twenty-seven hundred miles of navigable stream), possessing unexcelled wealth . . . and containing within itself all the requisites of a great nation."

"Look at it on the map," Dr. Eliot wrote, "and it is a military, social, and political necessity to the Union. . . . It secures all west of it in quiet possession, and so commands Arkansas and the Southwest in a military sense, that if Missouri were heartily and thoroughly in the Union cause, Arkansas would be firmly held, and Louisiana and Texas soon reconquered. . . . The accidents of war may throw everything back, and another army be needed for holding it. Missouri cannot be accounted safe in the Union, or counted anything but an element of weakness, *until slavery is killed.* Make it free on whatever terms, and it will be the first death blow to slavery. It will be worth the whole cost of the war. . . .

"The Senate bill would be instantly accepted

by the legislature, and would carry the State almost without dissent. From that moment Missouri would be as stanch as Massachusetts. . . .

"The interests at stake are too vast for minor differences. . . . I beg of you to take hold of this as the great work of this session. . . . Call together the leading Republicans in Senate and House and put this whole subject before them. You need not tell them that I am a younger brother and parson, but that nobody in Missouri has better opportunity of observation than I have, and no one has worked harder or to better effect for the Union and freedom cause. I tell you that Missouri is not yet safe, and is *worth buying* at double the amount asked. Far more than twenty millions will be saved in a six months' prosecution of the war. . . . As quiet returns to each part of the State, *labor rises in value*, and now is the time, if ever, for the blow to be struck. . . .

"Do everything you can to crowd sail. If the senators could only see the value of time, and the moral effect of a new free State, and the danger of reaction on this subject, they would not lose a day; and if the same is felt in the House, they will not mince matters when the Senate bill reaches them."

Hon. Thomas D. Eliot had suggested that Dr. Eliot write to senators and representatives, urging the passage of this bill. Dr. Eliot thus endorsed

his brother's letter: "Had written to Hon. Henry Wilson February 1st, and again February 7th. Also wrote to Charles Sumner February 5th. Wrote to Norman Cutter at Jefferson City February 3d."

The failure of Lincoln's favorite scheme of compensated emancipation is matter of history. As to the Missouri bill, the Senate finally fixed the amount of compensation at fifteen millions; but when the bill was sent back to the House, it was bitterly opposed by several pro-slavery representatives from Missouri, who, with the Democratic minority, succeeded by dilatory parliamentary tactics in preventing it from reaching a vote.

Two newspaper articles relative to this measure were written and published by Dr. Eliot. When the first appeared, February 15, 1863, the bill to aid the State of Missouri in compensated emancipation had been sent from the Senate to the House, where it was still pending. Evidently its opponents had asserted that "with or without the bill" slavery could not last in Missouri until 1876. "Slavery," Dr. Eliot declared, "is not dead in Missouri, though in a good position to be killed. Its open advocates and pretended enemies are using immense efforts to keep it alive by sowing seeds of discord among its real opponents, and by every agency, fair or foul. . . . They are continually saying that slavery is already played out. Let it alone and it will die. . . . But it will

not die out until it is killed out. . . . If the present opportunity is lost, Missouri may remain a slave State until the end of the century or longer. We therefore warn our friends at Washington not to be deceived. The victory is not yet gained."

In the second article, published March 19, 1863, under the heading "Who is Responsible?" Dr. Eliot states that he was in Washington while the Missouri Compensation Bill was under discussion, and that several of the senators and representatives from free States in the West opposed the bill on the ground that if "Missouri became a free State she would be the powerful and successful competitor of the neighboring free States." This statement was made by Dr. Eliot, from his own knowledge, in proof of his assertion that the abolition of slavery in Missouri would be of inestimable value to that State.

During the spring of 1863, the Missouri General Assembly was vainly endeavoring to find a common basis of agreement for gradual emancipation in that State. A majority of the members were in favor of such action, but the spirit of dissension was rife among them, and prevented agreement on any measure satisfactory to both parties, Radicals and Conservatives. The matter was further complicated by party and personal dissension over the choice of United States senators, and doubts regarding the constitutional

limitations on the power of the General Assembly to abolish slavery. Under the *nom de plume* of "Crisis," Dr. Eliot published four articles addressed to "The Emancipationist Members of the General Assembly of Missouri." They presented logical arguments, and contained at the same time an earnest appeal to the legislators to make Missouri a free State, and thereby strike the severest blow that the slave system had ever received. "Loyalty and Emancipation," Dr. Eliot asserted, "go together. Secession and slavery are twin sisters. Both questions must be settled at once, and it is for you, Legislators of Missouri, to settle them. Never was a grander work committed to any body of men. Never was there an opportunity of nobler service since the world began."

Dr. Eliot had previously drawn up a bill whose main provision was that all children born of slave mothers, on and after the first day of January, 1864, should be free. He records the fact that this bill was "reported by a majority of the House Committee *verbatim*, as prepared by W. G. Eliot."

"My reason for advocating the 'Unborn Children Emancipation Bill,'" he wrote, in his second appeal to the "Emancipationist Members of the Assembly," "is not that I prefer this to all other methods, but because it is practicable. Better plans might be devised, but some of them are hindered by the Constitution, and upon others you would not be able to agree. This bill is so

moderate in its requirements, and so gradual in its operation, that no friend of emancipation can oppose it, except on the ground of its not going far enough. To such objection we say, when we cannot do all we desire, the part of wisdom is to do all we can."

Before the General Assembly dissolved, in letters published March 20 and March 23, 1863, and addressed as in the previous instance to the Emancipationist Members of that body, Dr. Eliot urged upon them the calling of a convention with a view to adopting a general system of gradual emancipation. "If," he wrote, "from whatever cause — of bad management, of personal jealousies, of office-seeking, of half-treachery, or anything else — you adjourn *without having done anything for emancipation*, you will have neglected the one great purpose for which you were appointed to office, and will leave the State to endure all the evils of dissension and civil strife from which you were elected to save her."

Whether from party differences or the doubts fostered by the pro-slavery party as to the constitutional limitations on the action of the General Assembly in such matters, it soon became evident that the legislature would adjourn without passing a bill providing for gradual emancipation, thus leaving the matter to be decided by a convention. The question then arose as to whether the existing Missouri convention should

be reconvened, or delegates to a new convention be elected. The latter course was desired by the Radicals, since with the change of sentiment in Missouri the old convention elected in 1861 was deemed too conservative to fairly represent the people of the State. As no agreement between the two parties was reached, the Assembly dissolved, leaving further action to Governor Gamble.

On the 15th of April, 1863, Governor Gamble summoned the existing convention to "assemble at the capitol in the city of Jefferson, on the fifteenth day of June next, then and there to consult and act upon the subject of emancipation of slaves, and such other matters as may be connected with the peace and prosperity of the State." On the 14th of June, the Sunday preceding, Dr. Eliot offered a prayer at the Church of the Messiah, in which he said: "We pray for the convention just about to meet, and for all its members, for the governor, by whom it is called, and for the people whom it represents. May it have grace given to it to do its appointed work well and thoroughly, to restore quiet and peace and good order to the whole State, together with the inestimable blessing of entire freedom, by enacting laws for the extinguishment of slavery as a social institution at the earliest practicable day. . . . We thank Thee for this near prospect of deliverance from so great an evil, so great a wrong."

The convention thus reconvened, as might have been expected from so conservative a body, passed an emancipation bill that proved inadequate and unsatisfactory. Although it was therein provided that slavery should cease in Missouri in 1870, *all* slaves were to remain in a "condition of servitude" until 1876, those under twelve years of age until they were twenty-three, and those over forty for life.

The Ordinance of Emancipation was passed Wednesday, July 1, 1863. On the following Sunday, July 5, Dr. Eliot at the Church of the Messiah preached a discourse on "Emancipation in Missouri," which was published in pamphlet form. On the title-page was printed the text: "The people which sat in darkness saw a great light." In this discourse Dr. Eliot stated *first* his objections to the form of the ordinance in these words: "My own opinion is that this ordinance is five or seven years too slow, and that if the chattel right of slavery had ended now, instead of in 1870, and the remaining provisions had been modified accordingly, it would have been far better in every respect, and for the higher interests of all concerned. It would have been better as a war measure, by the entire and final separation of Missouri from Southern affiliation. It would have been better as a peace measure in the State, by taking away all possible ground for continued agitation."

The remainder of the discourse might almost be termed a pæan of thanksgiving for what had been accomplished. Dr. Eliot continued as further quoted: "This act of emancipation is the quickest and most radical that any community ever passed *for themselves or by their representatives*. We must remember that emancipation acts have generally been enforced by some extraneous or arbitrary power, and not by those whose interests were directly affected, and their property taken away. . . . There is no other instance on record, so far as my knowledge extends, of so near an approach to voluntary abandonment of the power, the social distinction and immunity from labor, which the system of domestic slavery undoubtedly confers. . . . In the whole record of such social changes, Missouri now stands first and foremost. You may say that her offering on the altar of freedom has not been perfect, nor such as the untrammeled lovers of freedom might have desired. But taking human nature as it is, and looking to history for our interpretations of it, we say that this ordinance of prospective emancipation is the grandest proof ever given by any people of their willingness to give up whatever may be required for their country's good. If the act should be cordially approved by the majority of the people . . . Missouri will have put to utter shame the halting loyalty of communities to which the war

has been a harvest of wealth, while to her it has been the besom of destruction.

"As a general rule great changes, to be well made, must be deliberately and slowly accomplished. Let them be made in whatever way you will, incidental evils must arise. . . . The present evils of change will be cured by time.

"From whatever point of view we regard the subject, the same glorious fact more and more reveals itself. The principle of freedom and of free labor has been asserted. It is not enough to say that Missouri *will* be a free State. To all intents and purposes she is such already, and only waits the passage of a few years to enjoy all the immunities and privileges of freedom. . . . We thank God that out of all our sufferings and losses this great good has been educed. The suffering and loss will be forgotten, but the blessings of freedom will more and more abound. . . . Oh, how weary we are of the enmities and strife, the envy, malice, and uncharitableness, the maledictions and recriminations, the sunderings of friendship and the severing of families, and the thousand unnatural ills that war has engendered.

"All hail, this brightening hope of brotherhood and peace! May God in his great mercy confirm it to us and to our children."

Under date of "Boston, July 24," we find the following acknowledgment to Dr. Eliot from

Edward Everett: "I received this afternoon two copies of the discourse delivered by you on the 5th of July. I do not know whether I am indebted to you for their transmission, but as I certainly am for the pleasure with which I have read the discourse, I will not lose an hour in returning you my hearty thanks. I do not know when I have read anything with greater pleasure.

"I concur in all that you say of the character of the ordinance. It is evidently not so much a compromise as a mixture of opposite opinions. The private working of some of the provisions under the appeals which will be made to the courts, cannot be foreseen; but I have myself no doubt that, like the apprenticeship system in the British colonies, this ordinance will, at the instance of the slaveholders themselves, long before 1870, give way to another of immediate emancipation. But whether it does or not, Missouri is from this time forward substantially a free State, and will, I doubt not, enter upon that career of prosperity for which her magnificent position and unsurpassed resources so admirably fit her.

"When I look back to the controversy which grew out of the attempted restriction on the admission of Missouri into the Union in 1820, and on the folly which dictated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, and then consider that the people of Missouri, assembled in convention

in 1863, have decreed that after 1870 all slaves then in Missouri shall be free, I am awe-struck with the visible tokens of an overruling and an interposing Providence.

"That your noble State may reap a rich reward for all that she has done and suffered in the cause of the Union, is my sincere and earnest hope and trust. The future is, of course, veiled in darkness; but when I consider your central position, and your means of communication in every direction, nothing seems to me more probable than that, by the end of the century, St. Louis will be the metropolis of the Union."

The greater portion of this letter was published at the time in a St. Louis paper, with the statement that it was written to a gentleman of that city. George Bancroft, the historian, was also quoted as having expressed the same opinion as Mr. Everett in a recent conversation. "Missouri, sir," said he, "is a free State. The defects of the ordinance are of no importance. . . . Slavery will disappear in half the time prescribed for it."

The predictions and hopes of these gentlemen and of Dr. Eliot were realized far sooner than they expected.

Although Dr. Eliot had consistently advocated a plan of gradual emancipation for slaves, he had always realized the attendant danger that they would be sold out of the State before their freedom was secured. Such seems to have been the

effect of the measure just passed, as appears from a letter addressed to General Schofield by Dr. Eliot, under date of November 9, 1863. The letter is quoted in full, as it tells its own story.

"I would respectfully represent that by the Ordinance of Emancipation passed by 'the People of Missouri in Convention assembled' in July, 1863, the term of servitude of slaves held in the State at that time was limited to seven years, namely to July 4, 1870, with certain conditions of service for those under twelve or over forty years annexed. By this ordinance, therefore, freedom is guaranteed to all slaves, as above recited, and the legal right of masters is limited and restrained accordingly.

"In contravention of this ordinance, many of the slave-owners in the State are continuing to exercise the full and unconditional right of ownership, by selling their slaves for life, and also by removing them, or causing them to be removed, from Missouri to the State of Kentucky or elsewhere, to be sold for life, and they are thus unjustly and fraudulently deprived of their legal and vested rights under said Ordinance of Emancipation. Instances of this kind are daily occurring, sometimes under circumstances of great hardship, in the separation of families and otherwise, and facilities for such action are given by military authorities in this Department.

"I respectfully call your attention to these facts, and humbly petition that an order be issued *restraining such facilities in the future*, either by the giving of passes or in any other way, at least until the legal rights of masters and slaves as prescribed by this ordinance shall have been passed upon and determined by the proper judicial tribunals, and warning all slave-owners against transcending their legal rights in the premises, by selling their slaves for life, or by removing them from the State except when they shall have first given full and sufficient bonds for the protection

of said slaves in all their rights as guaranteed by said ordinance."

Inclosed in this letter was the draft of a suggested Order from Headquarters, revoking the issuing of permits or passes for the removal of slaves from the State. A copy is appended.

"Whereas, It has been represented at these Headquarters that the permits or passes given to slave-owners, or those claiming to be such, for the transportation of slaves out of the State, are greatly abused, in such a manner as to promote the traffic in slaves particularly by disloyal persons, with all the hardship incident to the separation of families, and to open a door for the kidnapping of free persons or those entitled to their freedom, of whom a large number have been thus taken and sold into slavery, and that there is no practicable way of preventing such abuse and wrong, so long as such permits or passes continue to be given.

"And whereas, It is also represented that such permits or passes serve and are regarded as a military protection under which slaves are carried into and through free States, and virtually deprived of the claim to their freedom which would otherwise exist from the fact of their being carried into a free State by the voluntary act of the master, thus indirectly interfering with civil law in other Departments and discriminating against freedom and strengthening the bonds of slavery.

"And whereas, by the Ordinance of Emancipation passed 'by the People of Missouri in Convention assembled,' freedom is guaranteed to all slaves who may be in the State in 1870, and the removal from the State deprives them of the hope of such emancipation and defeats the humane intent of said ordinance, a result which ought not to be promoted even if not hindered by military interference, — it is therefore ordered that from and after this date, no permits or passes shall be issued by any military authority in this

Department for the removal of slaves from the State of Missouri into any other State or Department."

On the outside of a copy of this letter is written: "In answer the whole system of passes to slave-owners with slaves was stopped November 10," the day following the writing of the letter.

Had the enlistment of "persons of African descent," so termed, in the armies of the United States been suggested at the beginning of the Civil War, there would have been emphatic protest from all sections of the country. Yet to this culmination the exigencies of war inexorably led, and each succeeding enactment of Congress affecting the status of the slave brought it nearer.

In virtue of the authority conferred upon him by the Confiscation Act of July, 1862, the President declared in his final Emancipation Proclamation that "persons of suitable condition held as slaves in the States in rebellion will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, etc." In the spring of 1863 active measures were inaugurated to organize colored regiments on a scale commensurate with the need for recruiting the army, and in the adjutant-general's office of the War Department there was established a special bureau for the organization of colored troops. General Thomas was sent to the Southwest, where were great numbers of freedmen along the banks of the Mississippi. Here the problem was a simple

one ; but in the Border States, claiming to be partially loyal, the enlistment of blacks was opposed. In Missouri Governor Gamble gave his consent to the measure on condition that the laws of Missouri should not be violated ; but as the old slave laws still remained on the statute books, this condition negatived his consent.

At this time a question arose regarding the enlistment of slaves of masters claiming to be loyal who asserted that their slaves absconded and enlisted without their consent. In reply to a letter of inquiry from John M. Forbes, a very prominent and patriotic citizen of Boston, who had been made chairman of a committee appointed by Governor Andrew of Massachusetts to "aid in the enlistment of colored troops," Dr. Eliot suggested a plan for satisfying the claims of loyal masters, which was later brought to the attention of the President, and by him adopted. Dr. Eliot thus wrote to Mr. Forbes: "My belief is that more than half of the slaves in Missouri are owned by rebel masters, or by the notoriously disloyal, and if there were any way to get at them you would be in no want of recruits. If your recruiting agents could be placed in different parts of the State, and authorized to receive all applicants whose masters are known to be rebels, it would probably serve the purpose. In this case provision should be made for enrolling the names of the masters, so that if they should

afterwards come forward and prove their loyalty, the *sum allowed for recruits*, say $300, could be paid to them for each man improperly taken. If black substitutes were receivable, a great many of the masters, when drafted, would free their slaves to take their places."

In reply there was received from Mr. Forbes under date of Boston, October 26, a letter in which he wrote in part:—

"I believe I answered hastily your last note begging a conservative man for Ben Butler. . . . After a little I expect to see the President come up to the mark, as he has on other occasions after considerable urging.

"In Maryland his general order about slaves is working well, and you see *he has adopted your suggestion of giving the bounty to loyal masters. I sent it on to Stanton*, and he said they then had it under consideration, and were waiting for *something*, perhaps for more decided evidence of public sentiment. I only wish he had left out the master's consent.

"We have raised $60,000 to help black recruiting."

The general order of the President herein referred to was issued October 3, 1863, and regulated the enlistment of slaves in Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Delaware, where recruiting stations were established. It embodied Dr. Eliot's suggestion that the names of all

masters of slaves enlisted be enrolled, and those satisfactorily proving their loyalty receive as compensation a sum not over $300, upon filing deeds of manumission.

In the "Life of Lincoln" by Nicolay and Hay, we find this statement regarding the order of the President referred to: "Loyal owners were compensated whether they had given their consent or not, upon filing deeds of manumission and release, and a board was appointed to audit such claims. This order gave satisfaction in many directions; it helped to fill the army, gave slaves an avenue to freedom, aided and stimulated state emancipation, compensated slave-owners, and lightened the burden of the draft upon white citizens." This order with local regulations was issued by General Schofield in Missouri November 14, 1863, four days after the system of passes to slave-owners and their slaves was revoked.

Only one thing was lacking to complete the full measure of tardy justice meted out to the colored soldier. By the Confiscation Act of July, 1862, ten dollars a month was allowed to "persons of African descent" employed by the government. With the advance in the status of the race this sum became insufficient. The white soldier received thirteen dollars a month, and a bounty in addition. The colored soldier, for whom the risk was greater on account of that

very disadvantage of race which prevented him from receiving the full compensation, not only was paid a smaller monthly wage, but received no bounty. On the 16th of November, 1863, Dr. Eliot thus wrote to Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War: —

"Permit me as a citizen of Missouri to thank you for the order just issued by General Schofield on the subject of recruiting among slaves. It is the right thing at the right time. A part of the Conservatives will find fault, but the majority, of whom I am one, will heartily concur. . . . It is the death blow of slavery, for which thank God.

"I write now to suggest, if you will permit me, that a bounty, say of $150, be paid to each colored recruit. As the disloyal masters will not be paid for their recruited slaves, and probably not over $300 will be awarded to many of the loyal masters, such a bounty paid to every slave recruit would still average far less than is paid to white men, and it would stimulate enlistments to great activity. More than half the slaves will prove to be of disloyal masters if the scrutiny is at all severe.

"There seems to be no reason why those who are exposed to the same danger and do the same work should not be treated as nearly alike as the nature of the case admits. In the beginning I was opposed to the whole theory of arming the negroes, but no opinion can resist the logic of events; and now that we have put our national cause partly in their hands, the least we can do is to treat them like men. It is not right to take them without bounty and at less wages, and then expect the same services. *They feel this*, and their readiness to enlist is diminished. So much depends upon quickness of action that all obstructions should be removed.

"I have no right to make these suggestions except that of earnest patriotism. With no favors to ask, and no party to

serve, I have labored from the first and when laborers were few, for the good cause."

To this letter was written the following reply by Secretary Stanton: —

"November 20, 1863.

"I pray you to accept my thanks for your very interesting and patriotic note of the 16th inst. just received. Your views impress me very deeply, and will be laid before the President for his directions. I have received no communication upon this important subject which has given me more satisfaction than your letter."

The policy advocated by Dr. Eliot, of placing the white and colored soldiers on a more equal footing as to pay and bounty, was strongly advised by the Secretary of War in his message issued April 2, 1864. It was also advocated by the President and authorities at Washington. Congress, however, took no action until by the Army Appropriation Bill passed in June, 1864, this tardy act of justice was consummated. By the same enactment the widows and children of colored soldiers dying in the service were entitled to pensions. After this action was taken the number of enlistments increased.

From the beginning to the close of the Civil War, there were great differences of opinion among Missouri politicians. Gradually the Conditional Union men allied themselves unreservedly with the Union party, but in that party there were Radicals and Conservatives, or Claybanks and Charcoals, as they were termed in the famil-

iar parlance of the day. These Radicals and Conservatives frequently disagreed as to the wisdom or unwisdom of war measures, which several times resulted in a change of commanders in the Department of Missouri.

In the fall of 1863, General Schofield gave dissatisfaction to leading politicians in Missouri, and the President, in the interest of harmony, decided that it was better to remove General Schofield from command in Missouri, for the same reason that Schofield had superseded Curtis. This action did not involve lack of confidence on the part of the President, since Schofield was to be relieved of his command in Missouri through promotion in the army. At the President's request the nomination of General Schofield to be major-general was sent to him for confirmation, and by him forwarded to the Senate with his approval.

Dr. Eliot regretted the removal of General Schofield from Missouri, especially as some of the Radicals were asking for Butler, a man of drastic measures. As an expression of his judgment, and of his approval in general of Schofield's course in Missouri, and in order to exert his personal influence towards his promotion to a major-generalship, Dr. Eliot drew up a memorial to the Senate, in which he endorsed that officer's management of affairs in Missouri. We append a copy of this document: —

To the Honorable Senate of the United States, in Extra Session.

The undersigned, a citizen of Missouri, and an Unconditional Union man from the beginning, respectfully presents his petition:

That Brigadier-General J. W. Schofield be confirmed in his nomination by the President of the United States, as Major-General of United States volunteers, for the following reasons:

I. Because he is an honest, faithful, and loyal man, a good officer, and above reproach in personal character, his enemies themselves being the judges.

II. Because, in his whole administration of affairs in the Department of the Missouri, he has strictly obeyed orders and followed instructions, of which we have full proof in the President's public statements, and therefore, if censure is conveyed, it should fall upon the instructions, and not on the officer who obeyed them, as in duty bound.

III. In point of fact, his orders with reference to the treatment of disloyal persons, and on the subject of slavery, were the most stringent and radical that have ever been issued in Missouri, in proof of which reference is made to the assessment and extradition orders, and the order for depopulating the border counties between Kansas and Missouri, all of which orders were from time to time restrained or annulled at Washington; and also to the order prohibiting the deportation of slaves from Missouri, by which an iniquitous internal slave trade was effectually broken up; and Order 135 for enlistment of slaves, by which the death blow was given to slavery in Missouri. These orders were issued under circumstances of great difficulty, and against the persuasion and conviction of a large part of the people of Missouri, and are indication of anything rather than want of zeal.

IV. Because he was always prompt and active in making provision for Union refugees, and for the freedmen from the South, and so far as he could for fugitives from slavery.

In such respects he assumed unusual responsibility, and his instructions to the officers in charge of these interests were to use their best discretion and to err, if at all, on the side of humanity. Your petitioner states this on his own knowledge.

Your petitioner humbly but earnestly believes that no good cause, not even the cause of freedom, can gain by acts of undue severity or personal injustice under whatever circumstances: — and he has the honor to remain, in the cause of Justice, Loyalty, and Freedom,

The Senate's obedient servant,

William G. Eliot.

Dr. Eliot's faith in Major-General Schofield was justified by Schofield's subsequent career. He later honored the office to which he was promoted by the Senate.

Dr. Eliot held one position during the Civil War which afforded him much gratification and entailed little effort. In February, 1862, the older men of the city, exempt by reason of age from active service, organized in a body for defense of the city in an emergency. Dr. Eliot at once volunteered as chaplain, and was unanimously chosen. In September, 1864, St. Louis was threatened by Sterling Price, who advanced within ten miles of the city. All of the enrolled militia in St. Louis were called into active service. The Old Guard then volunteered for duty, and were accepted. Happily Price was forced to retreat without entering the city.

February 9, 1865, Dr. Eliot preached an anniversary sermon to the Old Guard, in which,

after reviewing the events which had occurred during the three years of their existence, he congratulated them as Missourians on the changes which had been wrought in the status of the State in that time, and especially on its progress from slavery to freedom. He drew a graphic picture of what had been, as contrasted with present conditions. "In the year 1861, sixty battles or considerable skirmishes were fought" on the soil of Missouri. "In the beginning of 1863 there were almost as many Missourians on the Confederate muster rolls as on our own." Yet at that date, February, 1865, Missouri stood "credited at the War Department with no less than seventy-eight thousand enlisted men." Missouri had at first desired peace, Dr. Eliot said, but it would have meant that "wrong ought not to be resisted, and that rebels should be permitted to have their own way." "Law and right and liberty," he declared, "must be maintained, without which there can be no continued peace, and therefore as true lovers of peace we must be willing to fight for it."

In concluding his address, Dr. Eliot advocated, as the means of securing the permanent restoration of peace, the laying aside of animosities engendered by war, and the diffusion of education to promote intelligent citizenship.

After the beginning of the year 1863 Dr. Eliot ceased to keep a personal record of events;

they pressed too closely upon him, and his phenomenal labors exhausted him. Mental suffering too, however bravely borne, is a heavy burden, and during this stormy period he was heavily afflicted in the loss of two of his children.

May 3, 1864, his younger brother, Captain Frank Andrew Eliot, was killed at the battle of Chancellorsville. Captain Eliot had raised a company of men in Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he resided, and pledged himself not only to command, but to care for them. So strong was his feeling of personal responsibility towards them, so deep his attachment, that when he was offered promotion for gallant conduct after the battle of Fredericksburg, he refused the honor, and replied, "I entered the war for the cause alone. I am the captain and brother of these men, and as such I must fight to the end. We cannot part from one another save through death." Again a second time promotion was offered and refused.

At the battle of Chancellorsville it became necessary to storm a barricade, behind which the rebels were strongly intrenched. For some reason Captain Eliot's superior officer failed to appear, and he assumed command. The men hesitated to expose themselves to what seemed certain death. Captain Eliot sprang forward alone upon the barricade that separated him from the enemy. Waving his sword, he cried: "Follow me, boys!" It was his last order, for he instantly fell, pierced

by a bullet, but every one of his men followed him, many to share his fate.

After the battle a Confederate soldier found him on the spot where he had fallen, and, driving four bayonets into the ground, threw over them a blanket as a shelter from the sun for the dying man. The Confederate received from Captain Eliot his watch and other tokens for his wife, and they eventually reached her. His place of burial was never discovered, although every possible means was taken to find it. Like many others who fell in battle, he filled a nameless grave. The memory of this brother was cherished by Dr. Eliot with great affection, and after the war, through the gift of himself and Mrs. Eliot, the Frank A. Eliot scholarship fund at Washington University was established as a memorial to the young soldier.

Throughout the Civil War Dr. Eliot was a close observer of events, making his critical judgment felt at the proper moment to advance or retard what he considered wise or unwise action. His opinion, based on a clear understanding of concrete facts within the domain of his own personal experience, was frequently accepted as final, through the confidence reposed in his wisdom. Always alert, always watchful, he entered the arena only when he believed he could be of assistance in the struggle. His unremitting labors were given to the humanities of war, the work

of the Western Sanitary Commission, which extended over a wide area of beneficence. A life of William Greenleaf Eliot which did not include a history of this same Commission would be inadequate and incomplete.

CHAPTER IX

ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE WESTERN SANITARY COMMISSION

Even as late as the middle of the last century it had become an accepted fact in the experience of armies, that many more men perish from disease than are slain in battle. During the Crimean War it was estimated that two months' longer continuance of the then prevailing death rate at Sebastopol would destroy the British army. No effort was made to devise a remedy for this evil, or improve the conditions of camp and army life, until in the spring of 1855, in recognition of the necessity of the immediate adoption of sanitary measures, there was sent to the Peninsula a government commission, which accomplished remarkable results in checking the spread of disease, while Florence Nightingale and her assistants nursed back to life the sick and suffering soldiers.

At the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, consideration on the part of philanthropic and patriotic citizens of the beneficial results obtained through the appointment of a government sanitary commission during the recent Crimean War in Europe, led to the formation in the United

States of a civilian organization to look after the health of the soldiers in the army, and provide for the care of the sick and those wounded in battle. In addition to these duties primarily assumed, the Sanitary Commission became of necessity the general distributing agency for the government of the large supplies of goods sent from every city, town, and hamlet of the North to the soldiers in the field. When the order of the Secretary of War creating the United States Sanitary Commission was issued June 13, 1861, it was declared to be appointed by the government as "a medium through which the benevolence of the people towards the army could be diverted into practical channels."

To understand the necessity for the creation of the United States and Western Sanitary Commissions, it must be remembered that at the outbreak of the Civil War the government was wholly unprepared for the sanitary care of the large army suddenly called into being. "The operations of the Medical Bureau previous to the Civil War," wrote Dr. Charles Stillé in his "History of the United States Sanitary Commission," "were confined to an army of fifteen thousand men. Before the war there were no general hospitals; the military hospitals were all post hospitals, that at Fort Leavenworth, the largest, containing but forty beds. It became necessary therefore to create, in the midst of the crisis, the entire system

by which these establishments, so indispensable to the operations of a large army in the field, are governed. There were at that time no suitable buildings; no well-trained nurses; no requirements or arrangements for a proper diet for the sick, or provision for their clothing; no properly understood relations between general hospitals and regimental hospitals; no means for supplying promptly proper medicines, and no arrangements for the humane and careful transportation of the sick and wounded. Patients were crowded in the beginning of the war into buildings wholly unsuited for their treatment. The agony and suffering which were endured by them during the first nine months of its continuance, owing to the delay in the construction of proper general hospitals, can never be accurately known, but it is not easy to estimate."

Such was the lack of provision for our sick and wounded soldiers when the sanitary commissions were organized. Lacking the rigidity necessary to an army system, well managed, and ready to give immediate response when called upon, they were of invaluable assistance to the government in its provision for the health of the soldiers in the field, and for the care and comfort of the sick and wounded.

Theoretically the United States Sanitary Commission was supposed to include the whole country in the circle of its beneficence. The area was

large, Missouri was a thousand miles distant from Washington, and the need of a general hospital system very great. When on August 18, 1861, a battle was fought near Springfield, Missouri, and after the lapse of eight or ten days the sick and wounded began to be brought in, nothing was ready for them. In a report of the work of the Western Sanitary Commission, Dr. Eliot thus told the tale: "The first hundred arrived at night. They had been brought in wagons one hundred and twenty miles, over a rough road, by hurried marches, suffering for food and water, from Springfield to Rolla, and thence by rail to St. Louis to the station on Fourteenth Street. There, having had nothing to eat for ten hours, they were put into furniture carts and carried the remaining three miles. Bare walls, bare floors, and an empty kitchen received them, but the kind-hearted surgeon, Bailley, did all he could to make kindness take the place of good fare. He obtained from the neighbors cooked food for their supper, and lost no time in getting together the various means of comfort. The poor fellows were so shattered and travel-worn that they were thankful enough to get eatable food, with the hard boards to sleep upon, and no word of complaint did we ever hear one of them utter. In the course of the week three or four hundred more were brought in, the condition of things meanwhile rapidly improving; but so great was the difficulty of ob-

taining anything that was wanted, that many of the badly wounded men lay there in the same unchanged garments in which they had been brought from the battlefield three weeks before. Every day, however, made things better, and by the end of a month from the first arrivals, Dr. Bailley began to say that 'it was not yet what he called a good hospital, but that the men were all comfortable.'"

At the beginning of the Civil War, such conditions were only too common east and west. What was St. Louis to do for her wounded and sick soldiers, sent to that city from all parts of the State? Should she wait for the necessarily slow action of the government through its Medical Bureau, or for the United States Sanitary Commission to send an agent to that distant point? At the suggestion of one of her citizens, Dr. William G. Eliot, the Western Sanitary Commission was created, as he himself expressed it, "to meet the exigency of the moment." So well did it fulfill this purpose that, six weeks after its organization, four large general hospitals were established, with over two thousand beds, all occupied, and with all the essential comforts that sick men require.

The plan for the organization of a sanitary commission for the Department of the West was a very simple one. On September 3, 1861, a document was drawn up by Dr. Eliot under the heading of "Suggestions," and this was submitted to Major-

General Frémont. It was copied by Mrs. Frémont, and on September 5 was signed by the General. On September 10 it was issued as Special Order 159, signed by "J. C. Kelton, Assistant Adjutant-General, by Order of Major-General J. C. Frémont." It created a civilian commission of five gentlemen, who were appointed to serve voluntarily and be removable at pleasure. Its general object was, as stated, "to carry out under the properly constituted military authorities, and in compliance with their orders, such sanitary regulations and reforms as the well-being of the soldiers demanded."

"Under the direction of the Medical Director," the Western Sanitary Commission had authority to select and furnish buildings for hospitals, provide nurses, inspect camps, and, in brief, to attend to everything that related to the health and comfort of the volunteer troops in and near St. Louis. The work of the Commission was, as an actual fact, never confined to St. Louis, and Secretary Stanton extended its range of action to all the States west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The four gentlemen designated by Dr. Eliot to act with himself on the Board of the Commission, and who were thus appointed by General Frémont, were all citizens of high standing in the community. Mr. James E. Yeatman, a Southerner by birth, served as president of the Western Sanitary Commission throughout the Civil

War, giving all his time to the arduous labors required. A gentleman of the old school, he was liberal and progressive in his ideas, humane and kindly in his instincts, and devoted to every good cause. Mr. Carlos S. Greeley, the conscientious treasurer, was a successful merchant. He managed the funds of the Commission with great financial skill. Dr. J. B. Johnson, originally from New Bedford, Massachusetts, was a distinguished physician and influential citizen. Mr. George Partridge, also a Massachusetts man, was a successful merchant. He was one of the earlier members of Dr. Eliot's church, an earnest philanthropist, and a liberal contributor to Washington University. These four gentlemen, with Dr. Eliot, worked together during the Civil War with the most perfect unanimity.

Immediately upon the appointment and organization of the Western Sanitary Commission, the members began their important work of fitting up general hospitals in St. Louis. To obtain necessary funds, Dr. Eliot wrote "An Appeal to the Public," which was signed by the members of the Board, and published September 16th. In this appeal it was stated that a part of the duty of the newly appointed Commission was to obtain "additional means of increasing the comfort and promoting the moral and social welfare of the men in camp and hospital," for which end money was an indispensable requisite, and contributions

were solicited. "Government provides abundantly," he declared, "for the well man, and in many respects for the sick. But change of clothing, shirts, drawers, socks, handkerchiefs, slippers, and other comforts need to be bountifully supplied. Many of the nicer articles of food, which the sick man craves, and by want of which his convalescence is retarded, come under the head of necessaries." This appeal met with a generous response from the citizens of St. Louis, and boxes of stores soon were forwarded to the Commission from all parts of the North.

As each general hospital was fitted up ready for occupancy, application was made to the military authorities to send thereto sick soldiers from the camps. In accordance with Dr. Eliot's suggestion, arrangements were immediately made for proper burial of the soldiers who died in the hospitals. The graves were marked and a careful record kept of the name, regiment, and such other facts as would lead to identification. Separate provision was made for convalescents. When General Frémont requested that two thousand beds should be immediately prepared for the wounded in anticipation of a great battle, they were ready before required for use. At each meeting, and meetings then were frequent, one or two members of the Board were appointed to inspect hospitals in and near the city. Camps were visited, and when overcrowding and neglect of sanitary

measures were reported the matter was brought to the attention of the proper military authorities. Mr. Yeatman found conditions very unsatisfactory in the hospitals at Jefferson City, through the incompetence of army surgeons; and it was resolved at the next Board meeting that it was "expedient and necessary for the Sanitary Commission to supply all regular hospitals with sheets, hospital garments, and stores."

In reading the record of the proceedings of the Board of the Western Sanitary Commission, we are at once impressed with the practical efficiency of its members and the amount of work accomplished with expedition and dispatch. Conscientious in the use of the funds intrusted to them, they employed little assistance. The president, Mr. Yeatman, gave his entire time to the work, having at first only one employee, who served as storekeeper, clerk, and porter. Whenever an emergency arose, and there was a sudden call for supplies, the members of the Commission worked until late at night, overseeing the packing of boxes. Dr. Eliot, who lived on what were then the outskirts of the city, frequently remained until midnight, walking home lantern in hand. At the close of the war statistics proved that the expenses of administration and service amounted to only one and one half per cent. of the value of the distributions of the Commission.

Shortly after the inception of its work the

Western Sanitary Commission at St. Louis received from the United States Sanitary Commission at Washington a remonstrance against the existence of a separate organization in the West, and also notice that official protest had been made to the Secretary of War, and a request that he require General Frémont to rescind his order, so that the Western Sanitary Commission might be made a branch of the National Commission. At the request of the Western Commission Dr. Eliot immediately started for Washington, and had a personal interview with the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, who had "no objection to the Western gentlemen being as independent as they pleased, as long as they were under the Medical Department." President Lincoln, to whom Dr. Eliot also appealed in person, was of the same opinion, and things were permitted to remain as they were. Dr. Eliot maintained in his argument at Washington that it would be unwise to subordinate the Western Sanitary Commission to a distant central authority, especially in view of the social conditions prevailing at the time in St. Louis and throughout Missouri, and the great usefulness of the Western Sanitary Commission as then organized.

On his return from Washington, Dr. Eliot drew up a set of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Western Sanitary Commission, and copies sent to the Secretary of War and the

United States Sanitary Commission. In these and further official communications additional arguments were cited in favor of an independent organization in the West. The condition of affairs in Missouri at that time was not thoroughly understood in the East, even by the President and Cabinet. Many citizens, nominally loyal, were only conditionally so, and very many actively disloyal. A civilian commission, so Dr. Eliot claimed, maintaining confidential relations with the commander-in-chief, could act more quickly, wisely, and effectively as a small independent organization than as part of a large one. The necessary quickness of action in the latter case would have been impossible.

In the resolutions forwarded to the United States Sanitary Commission at Washington, plans were suggested for the thorough coöperation of the United States and Western Sanitary Commissions, and later, two members of the former, Dr. Douglass and Dr. Warriner, were made associate members of the original Board of the latter organization. Several other gentlemen were also thus added to the Commission.

On November 2d General Frémont was removed from command of the Department of the West. One of his last official acts was the issuance of an order authorizing the Western Sanitary Commission to fit up two hospital cars for the transportation of the sick and wounded.

They were to be provided with berths and arrangements for cooking, and nurses were to be in attendance. General Frémont always responded when there was opportunity for humane action.

General Frémont's successor continued in command only sixteen days, and was then superseded by Major-General Halleck. To him a report was made of the work done and in progress by the Western Sanitary Commission. In this report Dr. Eliot wrote: "As to the manner in which the Western Sanitary Commission has performed its duty, it is not for us to speak; but we earnestly invite the attention of the general commanding to the present condition of the hospitals, that he may see the amount of work and the manner in which it has been done. We claim no other merit than that of intelligent and hearty coöperation with the Medical Bureau, under the order received from headquarters, but we confidently believe that the hospital system of St. Louis and its vicinity is already, at the end of two and one half months, by far the most perfect and best managed in the United States."

At this time the Western Sanitary Commission had become so useful and indispensable that the result more than justified any technical irregularity in its creation, and Major-General Halleck freely accorded his approval and support of the organization as then existing.

Under Medical Director Dr. DeCamp, the con-

cert of action between the Medical Bureau and the Western Sanitary Commission had been most harmonious. In December, 1861, he was superseded; and his successor, attached to old methods, and jealous of what he imagined to be interference with the Medical Department, opposed the humane measures of the Western Sanitary Commission, and manifested antagonism towards the general hospital system. It was a matter of public record that this gentleman's hospital management some two months before at Cincinnati had so aroused popular indignation that public meetings of protest were held. He did not succeed in breaking up the general hospitals in St. Louis, but many patients from the post and regimental hospitals were not brought to them until almost or quite "past recovery." A number of trenchant articles, making public the facts, were written by Dr. Eliot, and published as editorials. At Camp Benton, during the winter of 1861–62, were collected over twenty thousand newly enlisted men crowded into rough open barracks. The regimental hospitals were hardly better than the barracks, poorly ventilated and unevenly warmed. Dr. Eliot wrote that he had seen in these hospitals men who had been sick for weeks without any clothing but their common garments, with no sheets nor pillow cases, and in some instances without beds, while there were two hundred and fifty beds

empty in the Fourth Street Hospital alone. Like conditions existed in the brigade hospital at Sedalia, of which a heartrending description was given, and in other post and regimental hospitals where troops were collected. The existence of these unfortunate conditions was ascribed to the ignorance of officers, the incompetence of the army surgeons, and the added negligence at the time of the Medical Director, who frequently refused the hospital stores that the Western Sanitary Commission was anxious and willing to send. Finally complaint was made by the regimental surgeons that the medicines they needed were refused them. The matter was brought to the attention of Major-General Halleck by the Commission, and that officer issued an order on the Medical Department to increase its allowances. This order the Medical Director refused to obey. General Halleck then reported the facts to the authorities at Washington, and the medical supply table for regiments in the field was increased.

As might have been expected from such a sympathetic and broad-minded body of men as the members of the Western Sanitary Commission, it was their principle of conduct from the beginning to treat the Union and Confederate sick and wounded with equal impartiality.

As early as January 7, 1862, Dr. Eliot reported to the Commission that he had been to the Arsenal with warm clothing contributed by

sympathizing friends for the Confederate prisoners there. He found them "very much confined in their barracks, and considerable sickness among them." He "advised Dr. Getty to send all he could of them to the hospitals," and "assured him that the Sanitary Commission would do all it could to relieve him of any blame for pursuing this course." He had also "ordered a number of stores to be sent from the stores of the Commission for the prisoners."

Hearing that smallpox had broken out among the prisoners at McDowell's College, and there was much consequent suffering, Dr. Eliot sought permission from General Halleck to visit that place. General Halleck was unwilling to grant the privilege sought unless there were urgent reasons therefor, and Dr. Eliot did not urge his request. He was assured by General Halleck that there were no cases of smallpox, that the prisoners were well cared for, and that such as were sick and wished it could be removed to the general hospitals.

In May, 1862, by order of Major-General Schofield, the military prisons were placed under the supervision of the Western Sanitary Commission, and Dr. Eliot and Mr. Yeatman acted as a committee on the Gratiot Street prison. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions were reported, and strenuous efforts were made by the Commission to have the prisoners removed to a

new building. Eventually, by order of Major-General Curtis, the crowded condition of the prison and hospital was remedied by transferring a number of the prisoners to the large military prison at Alton, Illinois. The Gratiot Street prison was then cleaned and whitewashed by order of the Western Sanitary Commission, and much improved.

Dr. Pollak and Rev. Dr. Schuyler, associate members of the Commission, were appointed a committee to visit the Alton prison, and found that it answered all requirements of sanitation and comfort. It was large, airy, situated in a healthy location, and the buildings were isolated, with considerable ground around them. It was filled to only half its capacity. The food was good in quality and abundant in quantity, and the prisoners were well provided for in every respect. A Catholic priest acted as chaplain, and the Confederate dead were buried with exactly the same care as the Union soldiers.

When funds were required by the Western Sanitary Commission to fit up the first floating hospital, in an appeal issued November 13, 1862, it was stated that in event of a battle the wounded of both armies, "by special order," would be treated alike, and such became invariably the practice. When certain secessionist ladies desired to make a distinction, and asked the privilege of visiting the hospitals to take delicacies to Confederate to the exclusion of Union soldiers, in

accordance with this same principle their request was very properly refused.

In February, 1862, occurred the battle of Fort Donelson, the most brilliant of the battles fought to secure control of the great rivers which gave access to the interior of Kentucky and Tennessee. For three nights the army under Grant lay exposed to a driving storm of snow and sleet, and renewed the struggle at daybreak. The country reaped the splendid reward of human endurance and courage, but the suffering entailed was fearful. The number of sick and wounded was very large, and the Western Sanitary Commission was notified that four hundred patients were on their way to St. Louis. An associate member of the Commission, Dr. Pollak, with physicians and nurses, at once left for Paducah, Kentucky. He was furnished with a steamboat by Dr. Simmons, the medical director there, and returned to St. Louis with one hundred and fifty-five patients on board. This experience gave rise to a most important suggestion from Dr. Simmons, which was immediately acted upon by the Western Sanitary Commission. This was that several large steamers should be fitted up as floating hospitals, each having on board a chief surgeon with assistants and nurses. It was proposed that these steamers follow the course of the army along the Western rivers, always ready to receive the sick and wounded.

When this report was received by the Western Sanitary Commission, Dr. Eliot was immediately requested by the Board to address a letter to Major-General Halleck, explaining the plan, and stating that the Commission would undertake all the labor of carrying it into execution. The general commanding expressed his unqualified approval, and immediately issued an order to the chief quartermaster to purchase a steamer. The City of Louisiana was chartered, the government furnishing beds and commissary stores, and the Western Sanitary Commission completing the outfit at a cost of three thousand dollars, besides supplying surgeons and nurses. After the battle of Pittsburg Landing this vessel conveyed 3389 patients to Northern hospitals. Another of these floating hospitals was soon after fitted up in the same manner by the Commission. Thus satisfactorily were arrangements made for the transportation of the sick and wounded along the great watercourses for whose control both sides were contending.

In December, 1861, the rebel general Sterling Price entered Missouri. On the approach of General Curtis's forces he retreated into Arkansas with his army, and there was fought the battle of Pea Ridge on the 7th and 8th of March. It resulted in a Union victory, although the Confederates outnumbered our forces three to one. The Union loss in killed and wounded was one

thousand; the rebel loss even larger. This battle was of great strategic importance, since it checked the last incursion in force into Missouri, although guerrilla warfare continued until nearly the close of the war.

The battlefield of Pea Ridge was situated two hundred and fifty miles beyond Rolla, the terminus of the Southwest Branch of the Pacific Railroad. The roads were almost impassable, the country half civilized and stripped by foraging parties, and there were frequent murders by guerrilla bands. It was impossible to bring the wounded to St. Louis, and a thousand were to be provided for among a people who lived in log houses, and had few of the necessaries of life. The court-house, and such other buildings as there were at Cassville and other small towns within a radius of twenty miles, housed the wounded. As the march to Pea Ridge had been made in winter, with insufficient transportation, the Medical Department was wretchedly provided — no stimulants, no hospital stores, no bedding, and a very limited supply of medicines for these wretched men.

When news of this battle reached St. Louis, at the rooms of the Western Sanitary Commission, the members worked day and night packing sanitary stores. The first installment was forwarded the 11th of March, with an agent, Mr. Plattenberg, in charge, and a second supply immedi-

ately followed. Although furnished by General Halleck with a note to all quartermasters directing them to assist him in forwarding these stores with all possible dispatch, so great was the difficulty of transportation that Mr. Plattenberg did not reach Cassville, where were four hundred Federal wounded, until the 25th. He found the men stretched on the floors, with a little straw under them, and with knapsacks or blankets for pillows. They lay in the clothes they had worn on the battlefield, soiled and stiff with blood. They were devoid of every comfort. The sanitary stores from the Western Commission were turned over to the brigade surgeon, and distributed to the different hospitals, where they were received with the greatest joy.

Mr. Plattenberg then visited other so-called hospitals where were many rebel wounded, going from place to place to learn and supply the needs of the suffering. Additional stores were hurried forward, and soon all the Union and Confederate wounded were amply supplied.

In the report of this journey, Mr. Plattenberg said: "I am fully convinced that no army (so far as provision for the wounded was concerned) was ever sent into the field in such destitute condition as ours, except the one it fought and conquered." And of Mr. Plattenberg General Curtis wrote: "He is the agent of a noble Commission, whose arrival just after the battle of

Pea Ridge, with his abundant supplies of sanitary stores and stimulants, seemed in the destitute condition of the hospitals like a providential interposition in our behalf." So efficient was Mr. Plattenberg that he was employed as an agent by the Commission, and continued with the Army of the Southwest from that time until the spring of 1863.

On the 6th and 7th of April, 1862, occurred the battle of Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, between the Union forces under General Grant and the Confederate forces under Generals Johnston and Beauregard. The loss to each of the two armies was almost exactly the same. In the Union army there were 7882 wounded, and in the Confederate 8112 ; many of the latter fell into our hands.

As soon as the news of this battle reached St. Louis by telegraph, General Halleck addressed a note to the Western Sanitary Commission, requesting their coöperation with the Medical and Quartermaster's departments in sending to Pittsburg Landing steamers fitted up and furnished with medical and sanitary supplies, with surgeons, wound-dressers and nurses, to take charge of the wounded and return with them to St. Louis.

The two hospital boats, the City of Louisiana and the D. A. January, previously fitted up by the Commission, were immediately dispatched to Pittsburg Landing. The steamer Empress was

also made ready and started for the same point on the 10th with Mr. Yeatman, president of the Commission, in charge. She carried a complete duplicate outfit of medical and sanitary stores, and also an extra corps of surgeons and nurses, for the steamer Imperial, to which vessel they were transferred on arrival at Pittsburg Landing. The Empress alone returned with nine hundred wounded men to St. Louis.

The arrival of so large a number of wounded necessitated additional hospital accommodation, which was immediately provided by the Western Sanitary Commission.

On the 1st of May, 1862, there were fifteen military hospitals in and near St. Louis, affording accommodation for six thousand patients. Up to that date the number of patients admitted had been nearly twenty thousand, of whom about seven per cent. had died. Four floating hospitals, regularly employed for the transportation of the sick and wounded, had been fitted up. They were capable of transporting two thousand sick and wounded men, and were provided with every requisite for hospital service. They saved hundreds of lives by furnishing prompt relief and speedy transportation to well-ordered hospitals.

Frequent inspection of the hospitals in St. Louis and the Department of the Mississippi confirmed the members of the Western Sanitary Commission in the belief that not sufficient space

and air was allowed to each patient, especially in severe cases. A letter setting forth the facts, and submitting actual measurements, was written by Dr. Eliot to Surgeon-General Hammond. It was signed by the remaining members of the Commission and forwarded, and in hospitals afterwards established a "sufficient and specified number of cubic feet of air was allowed to each bed."

In the spring of 1862 the Mississippi Naval Squadron was actively engaged on that river. On the 4th of May occurred a naval battle at Fort Pillow, which was later evacuated by the enemy. The Confederate steamer Red Rover was captured by the Union forces, and Captain Wise of the gunboat flotilla proposed that it be fitted up by the Sanitary Commission as a floating hospital for the Mississippi Naval Squadron, towards which expense he would contribute. This was done at a cost of thirty-five hundred dollars to the Commission, and this hospital boat and the entire squadron were kept generously supplied with stores by them during the year.

By a great naval victory on the 4th of June, 1862, Memphis was captured, and the Mississippi opened as far as Vicksburg. This extended the field of action of the Western Sanitary Commission. For the sick and wounded of the naval squadron, general hospitals were immediately established at Memphis and Jackson, Tennessee, and at Helena, Arkansas.

The capture of Memphis was followed by the encampment of General Curtis and the Army of the Southwest at Helena, Arkansas. It was an important military point of great practical and strategic value, but the location among the bottom lands and cypress swamps of the Mississippi was malarial and unhealthy. The regimental hospitals and five churches were all filled with sick soldiers. Mr. Plattenberg, who had followed the army through Arkansas, over a route of eight hundred miles, opened a depot at Helena, from which he liberally distributed the large supplies of sanitary stores sent by the Western Sanitary Commission.

In September, 1862, when General Schofield took command of the Army of the Frontier beyond Springfield, Missouri, he requested the Western Sanitary Commission to send large quantities of supplies to the army at that point, and also suggested that an agent be employed by the Commission, to be located with his army, in order to insure prompt distribution of goods to the post and regimental hospitals of the Southwest. Both of these requests were complied with, and Rev. Mr. Newell was immediately appointed as agent. His services were soon needed. In December, 1862, at the battle of Prairie Grove, near Fayetteville, in northern Arkansas, the rebels were defeated, but the loss on both sides, in killed and wounded, was very large. Mr. Newell immedi-

ately proceeded with two ambulances and a large quantity of stores to Fayetteville, and turned over everything he had to the surgeon in charge. Then he himself went to work to do anything and everything required.

These continued drafts upon the resources of the Western Sanitary Commission left a depleted treasury, and it became necessary to raise more funds. It was decided that Dr. Eliot should visit several of the Eastern cities, give an account of the work done by the Commission, set forth its present needs, and solicit contributions in money or hospital supplies.

In December, 1862, he started for Boston, and on the 30th of that month issued an appeal or statement in which he said: "The demands at the West are at present very urgent and our treasury is very low. The armies of Missouri and Arkansas, numbering seventy-five thousand men, depend entirely upon us for all sanitary supplies. They are engaged in hard service, and are subject to great exposure, so that large supplies are needed for their use. In the hospitals of St. Louis district there are five thousand beds, with the prospect of increase rather than diminution. . . . The gunboat fleet on the Mississippi now numbers *thirty-five* boats, to each of which hospital stores are supplied; as likewise to the large floating hospital the Red Rover, and the naval hospital at Cairo. . . . The floating hospital D. A.

January is still continued in active service. . . . The armies of Tennessee and Mississippi are also partially provided for as to the wants of their sick and wounded. . . . The demand on us is greater than it ever was before. We have agents with each of the three great armies, and they all need liberal supplies, besides the constant home demand."

In two of the Boston churches Dr. Eliot made an appeal on behalf of the Commission, and as an immediate result received two thousand dollars, which he immediately forwarded to St. Louis. He also delivered in the same city an address embodying a statement of the financial condition, recent distributions, and probable wants of the Western Sanitary Commission. On his return Dr. Eliot stated, at a meeting of the Commission, that in Boston an organization to collect funds had been formed, consisting of Messrs. James M. Barnard, J. M. Forbes, R. C. Greenleaf, and others, and that probably they would succeed in raising ten or fifteen thousand dollars. The results were even better than he anticipated, as within the next few months these gentlemen secured, "for sanitary purposes in the Western armies," subscriptions which, with other sums forwarded, amounted to over fifty thousand dollars. In the list of donors appear many well-known names. Dr. Eliot had said: "Let the rich give of their abundance. Let the poor spare all they can." This injunction was certainly obeyed.

The subscriptions ranged from one dollar to one thousand.

Aside from this subscription list there were many separate contributions from this section of the country. Private letters tell of donations sent directly to St. Louis. The Boston Stock Exchange, in reply to a note from Dr. Eliot, forwarded a thousand dollars. The venerable Dr. Walker, ex-president of Harvard University, sent fifty dollars. Some little girls in Newton Corner, Massachusetts, held a fair and brought the proceeds to Mrs. Thomas Lamb, Dr. Eliot's sister, to purchase mosquito netting and cologne for the Western soldiers. Sixteen small boys from a school at Jamaica Plain sent various sanitary stores, and in forwarding a list of their names and contributions wrote at the bottom of the sheet: "Please, Dr. Eliot, write us a letter." Sixty-eight pairs of knit socks for the soldiers came from the good women of Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Lamb, Dr. Eliot's sister, who lived in Boston, had in the beginning of the war "set apart a room in her house as the Missouri Room, and letting all her friends know of this convenient method of sending goods to St. Louis as fast as boxes could be filled, she received and forwarded goods to the value of seventeen thousand dollars, and in cash nearly as much more." Through her came many personal contributions.

Dr. Eliot went to New York, and there saw

Mr. James Roosevelt and other generous and patriotic citizens. Mr. Roosevelt, a year previously, had opened a dollar subscription for the floating hospitals.

In accordance with the advice of Colonel Wood, Assistant Surgeon-General and Medical Director of the Western forces, Dr. Eliot included Washington in his tour, to ask from the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, recognition of the Western Sanitary Commission. On his arrival in that city he called on General Halleck, and explained to him the object of his visit, and then, in company with the General, visited the Secretary of War, to whom the situation and wishes of the Commission were made known. Secretary Stanton expressed his entire approval of the separate organization of the Western Sanitary Commission, which, in a special order, he renewed and confirmed. We append a copy of the document: —

ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, Adjt.-General's Office,
Washington, D. C., December 16, 1862.

Special Order No. 397.

Special Order 159, from the Headquarters of the Western Department (St. Louis, September 10, 1861), by authority of Major-General Frémont, establishing a Sanitary Commission (Western), is hereby approved, and continued, with the privilege to said Commission of extending its labors in the camps and hospitals of any of the Western armies, under the direction of Assistant Surgeon-General, Colonel R. G. Wood, or the senior medical officer of the Medical Department.

The Commission will consist of the original members appointed, — Jas. E. Yeatman, C. S. Greeley, J. B. Johnson, George Partridge, and W. G. Eliot.

By order of

E. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

Late in January of this year, Mr. Yeatman, in response to the request of the Boston committee, went to that city, and completed in New England, on a more extensive tour, the work of soliciting funds for the Western Sanitary Commission, which Dr. Eliot had begun. To Dr. Eliot he wrote from Boston: "The kind reception which I have met with has been overwhelming, for which I have to thank you. I find to know or to be a friend of Dr. Eliot is the best of passports, both to the hearts as well as pockets of the good people of Boston. . . . All say that when we need more they will freely give. Several stated they were willing then to double their subscriptions if I said so; but as these were large givers, I thought it best to defer having them do so until another general appeal should be made."

This response from New England to the appeal of the Western Sanitary Commission proves how superficial are sectional differences, and how strong the bond of a common nationality. The ideal of perfect union knows no north, no south, no east nor west, but one people of a great Republic.

CHAPTER X

WESTERN SANITARY COMMISSION (*continued*)

At the close of the year 1862, the almost impregnable stronghold of Vicksburg and Port Hudson below, alone obstructed the free passage of the Mississippi, and gave the rebels means of communication with the southwestern States. Against this objective point Grant had planned concerted action between himself and Sherman. The capture of Holly Springs, cutting off Grant's communications and supplies, prevented his co-operation, and the task essayed by Sherman alone was impossible of attainment, as proved by the issue of the event. Encamped on low and swampy ground, his forces in vain attempted to scale the fortified bluffs north of Vicksburg, impregnable by reason of their natural advantages of position and their artificial defenses. After several days of siege, and the loss of nearly two thousand men killed and wounded, Sherman recognized the fruitlessness of his undertaking, which was abandoned. Immediately afterwards, at his suggestion, Arkansas Post was attacked and taken by the Union forces. These engagements occurred in the midst of a very severe

winter, which greatly added to the suffering of the sick and wounded, for whose transportation to St. Louis and Memphis additional hospital steamers were fitted up by the Western Sanitary Commission, and increased hospital accommodation provided in each of the two cities for the large influx of patients. From the camps of Tennessee and Arkansas there were also sent to St. Louis large numbers of soldiers, whose illness was largely the result of the severe winter weather.

The siege of Vicksburg was later continued under Grant. During February and March the army were encamped in the half-submerged lands of the Mississippi, attempting titanic feats of engineering among tortuous bayous and streams. Rains were incessant, the camps were flooded, and for a time there was much sickness. Mr. Yeatman, the faithful and indefatigable president of the Commission, went down the Mississippi on the 1st of March to make a personal inspection and ascertain the needs of Grant's army. He found the health of the troops improving. Symptoms of scurvy were appearing as a result of the lack of vegetable diet, and the Commission sent large supplies. Mr. Plattenberg, their agent, also joined General Grant's army, and established his headquarters near Vicksburg.

Mr. Yeatman was much impressed with the

interest taken by Grant and Sherman in the health and well-being of their troops. General Grant was "determined to have provision made for the sick equal to any contingency that might arise," and General Sherman "went through the camp on foot, giving particular directions in regard to sanitary regulations," and "ascertaining personally the wants of the soldiers."

After a gradual process of elimination, Grant had learned what was impracticable and what was possible in the capture of Vicksburg, and, taking a splendid initiative, crossed the Mississippi below Vicksburg, and attacked it in the rear. This movement, as is well known, resulted eventually in the capture of Vicksburg, yet not without great loss of life. In two unsuccessful attempts, on the 19th and 22d of May, to storm the rebel works, forty-five hundred of our soldiers were wounded. There was an immediate and unusual demand for medical and sanitary stores, and the supply became temporarily exhausted. An incident occurring at this time, as related by the surgeon of an Illinois regiment, illustrates the advantages during a time of war of an added organization like the Western Sanitary Commission, unrestricted by necessarily rigid military rules. Surgeon Rex thus wrote to the secretary of the Commission: "I vividly remember the last twenty-second day of May, after the charge upon the fortifications of Vicksburg.

Our division (General Carr's) had about four hundred badly wounded men brought into the division hospital on that day. We had been cut off from our base of supplies for over two weeks, had fought three successful battles, and had entirely exhausted all our medical and hospital stores. Our men were brought from the battle-field with their winter clothing on, and in many cases their clothing and woolen blankets were saturated with blood and covered with fly-blows, and we had no change to give them. We heard that communication was opened with Chickasaw Landing, twelve miles distant, and that a United States government boat was there with supplies. At once four wagons were sent thither, with a request from the officer to send us the supplies that were so urgently needed, and the necessary papers could be executed afterwards. The wagons returned empty, and the men were told that nothing would be issued, unless the papers had gone through all the proper channels, and were tied with red tape, which would require several days to accomplish.

"One of the teamsters remarked to me that he saw the boat of the Western Sanitary Commission coming up the Yazoo River as they were leaving. Our wagons were sent back, and our situation made known to that noble-hearted gentleman, Mr. A. W. Plattenberg, agent of the Sanitary (Western) Commission, who at once

loaded them with everything necessary for the comfort and health of our wounded soldiers, and in a few hours a great change was seen in the hospital.

"The clothing was all changed, good beds were provided, nutritious food and proper stimulants prepared; and, but for this timely aid from your Commission, it is probable many of these poor soldiers would have died. This is only one instance. I could cite many others of a similar character if time would permit."

On the 26th of May Mr. Yeatman went to Vicksburg, accompanied by a corps of surgeons and nurses, and in charge of a steamer loaded with sanitary supplies to the amount of two hundred and fifty tons, besides cots and mattresses for a thousand men. When he reached his destination, he found the sanitary stores there entirely exhausted, so great had been the demand. During the following month of June 114,697 articles were sent to Grant's army from the Western Sanitary Commission.

On the 4th of July, 1863, the Union army entered Vicksburg. As a result of the fall of this great stronghold, five days later, on the 9th, Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks, and an unobstructed Mississippi lay open to commerce on its rightful pathway to the Gulf.

On the west of the great river Arkansas and Texas were still claimed by the Confederacy. To

secure possession of these two States General Steele was operating in the former and General Banks in the latter, and both of these generals depended upon the Western Sanitary Commission for sanitary and medical supplies for their sick and wounded. Under date of August 21, 1863, Dr. Eliot wrote to friends in Boston: "We have the whole army west of the Mississippi to see to, and a large part of General Grant's and the gunboats, and the summer sickness is daily becoming worse. At Helena, where such grand fighting was done on the 4th of July, there are two thousand sick left by armies moving forward. General Steele writes that he never needed our services more than now; and from every direction the claims come in upon us. We are making very large shipments daily, and are this week under the necessity of taking a large additional storeroom for our bulky stores."

Great was the difficulty of transportation through a region devoid of railroad facilities. In the record book of the Western Sanitary Commission, under date of October 16, 1863, appears the following entry: "Mr. Waterman, employed as agent in July, went with a large supply of sanitary stores to the army of Brigadier-General Davidson (then at Bloomfield, Missouri) by way of Cape Girardeau. (This was in August.) Finding difficulty of transportation, he took one half of his supplies in wagons. On the

way the train was attacked by guerrillas, and nearly all destroyed, and twelve soldiers and teamsters killed. Four of the wagons containing sanitary stores were burned, but two escaped destruction. Mr. Waterman was a few miles in the rear, but came up after the guerrillas left and extinguished the fire, and saved the two wagons with their contents. With these he went to Bloomfield and distributed goods to the sick left there by General Davidson, who had gone to Little Rock with the army (under General Steele)." Mr. Waterman returned to Cape Girardeau and went to Helena with the remainder of his goods; thence to Clarendon and Duvall's Bluff, where he was taken dangerously sick, and turned over his goods to the surgeon in charge and returned home.

Another agent, Mr. Wyeth, was appointed by the Western Sanitary Commission. He followed General Steele's army, with sanitary stores. Little Rock was soon taken and became the headquarters of the Army of Arkansas. The sick were removed and provided for there, and in that city Mr. Wyeth immediately established his agency, receiving and distributing regular shipments of supplies from St. Louis. The medical director at Little Rock wrote to Mr. Yeatman, under date of September 30, 1863: "Your Commission is doing an inconceivable amount of good for our sick soldiers."

In the summer and autumn of this year, 1863, large shipments of goods were sent to the colored regiments. Mr. Yeatman wrote, in answer to inquiry: "We care for the sick and wounded colored soldiers just as we do for the white. We have supplied a number of regiments. . . . The accounts we have of them entitle them to our confidence." During the winter of this same year a very large shipment of sanitary goods was also sent to the army of General Banks on the Red River.

The field of operations of the Western Sanitary Commission was extended eastward soon after the fall of Vicksburg. Agencies were established at various points, such as Nashville and later Chattanooga, for the relief of the Division of the Mississippi. To General Sherman's army, during the whole of the year 1864, very large quantities of stores were sent, "all that could be shipped." From May 1 to November 1, 1864, nearly half a million articles, amounting in the aggregate to hundreds of tons, were sent to this army. In a letter of General Sherman to the president of the Commission, appeared the following acknowledgment of the good accomplished through their efforts: "I acknowledge fully that your Commission has done a world of good, and has enacted charity in that quiet and unostentatious manner that must command the love of all."

In the early fall of 1864, the Western Sanitary Commission was very desirous of sending forward a large supply of sanitary articles to the Union prisoners at Andersonville. It was hoped that this might be done either with the consent of the Confederate authorities or by the capture of the place. The president of the Commission was instructed to write to General Sherman in regard to the shipment of the stores, and also to offer him on behalf of the Commission five or ten thousand dollars to be expended at his discretion for the benefit of the thousands of Union soldiers confined within the stockade as prisoners of war, and suffering extreme privation. In reply to Mr. Yeatman, General Sherman thus expressed himself: "The condition of the prisoners at Andersonville has always been present to my mind, and could I have released them, I would have felt more real satisfaction than to have won another battle. . . . I have frequent messages from them, and have sent word to the men to be of good cheer, that the day of their deliverance is approaching; but I now think that Jefferson Davis is removing them. . . . I shall have occasion to write to General Hood, and will offer to send down some fifty or sixty tons of clothing and other necessaries, but I doubt if he will consent. Should he assent, however, I will telegraph you to send me such articles as we do not have."

Mr. Yeatman later received a telegram from General Sherman, requesting that the articles be sent forward. This was done, and they were packed in boxes marked "Major-General Sherman, For the Andersonville prisoners." They reached the front, but it was impossible for General Sherman to carry out his kind intentions, and the boxes were reshipped to the Commission. In the spring of 1865 the Andersonville prisoners were released, and reached Vicksburg on their way to the North to be discharged. The Western Sanitary Commission immediately forwarded to that place the boxes of supplies with the original marks upon them. When the men saw the boxes marked as we have described, they were much moved, and expressed pleasure that their general, "Old Billy," had not forgotten them. When these facts were communicated to General Sherman in a letter from Mr. Yeatman, the General sent a noble reply, from which extracts are given. He wrote: "I do not think I ever set my heart so strongly on any one thing as I did in attempting to rescue those prisoners, and I had almost feared that instead of doing them good I had actually done harm, for they were changed from place to place to avoid me, and I could not with infantry overtake railroads.

"I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine.

Even success, the most brilliant, is over dead and mangled bodies, the anguish and lamentations of distant families, appealing to me for missing sons, husbands, and fathers. . . .

"It is only those who have not heard a shot, nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded and lacerated (friend or foe), that cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation." This is truly a vivid picture of the reverse side of war.

The National Cemetery at Andersonville, where are buried thousands of the Union dead, tells more eloquently than words the sad story of suffering, starvation, and death within the Confederate stockade. It is a gruesome tale, the record of terrible mental and bodily suffering, and of breaking hearts in many a home in the North. Would that in the South there had been a sanitary commission to assert the claims of humanity!

Quite early in the Civil War there became manifest the need of homes for discharged and furloughed soldiers returning to their families. A soldiers' home was established in St. Louis by the Western Sanitary Commission in March, 1862. During the first year of its existence over twelve thousand soldiers were entertained there with food and lodging, and during the second year over eight thousand, making a total of nearly twenty-one thousand men. The majority

were invalids partially restored to health, and many of them required assistance in securing their pay and bounty, so that a committee was early appointed by the Commission for that purpose. Others who had money needed protection from the sharpers that infest every large city. In no department of their work was a greater amount of good accomplished at less expense by the Western Sanitary Commission than in the soldiers' homes. Rations and fuel were supplied to enlisted men by the government, the Commission fitting up the homes and supplying stores which were largely donated.

Soldiers' homes were established in 1863, at Memphis, Tennessee, and Columbus, Kentucky, and later at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Helena and Duvall's Bluff in Arkansas, at all of which places troops were concentrated. Up to December 31, 1865, 421,216 enlisted soldiers had been entertained at these six homes, including the one at St. Louis. At that period all of the homes had been closed save the last mentioned, which was still entertaining a monthly average of two thousand guests. Confederate soldiers, as statistics show, were not excluded, and it was a frequent sight to see colored and white Union soldiers and the Confederate eating at the same table.

The work of the Western Sanitary Commission was never confined to the army, or to the individual soldier, but included every form of

suffering and need incident to the Civil War. In the Border States, and especially Missouri, secessionists were strong and aggressive, murder was not infrequent, and the Union refugees were often obliged to flee for their lives. During the fall and winter of 1861–62 many of these refugees from the interior and southwestern parts of Missouri were driven from their homes by the rebels, and reached St. Louis in a very destitute condition. The Western Sanitary Commission immediately responded to the need. A refugee home on Elm Street was opened for the most helpless refugees, and assistance given to others. Mr. John Cavender, an old and respected citizen, and one of the early members of Dr. Eliot's church, devoted his entire time to the care of these unfortunate people. The Commission issued an appeal, and as a result $3800 in money was contributed by loyal citizens of St. Louis, and about the same amount in clothing. As this was not sufficient for the relief of the large numbers of persons constantly arriving in St. Louis and requiring aid, on the 4th of December, 1861, General Halleck issued his celebrated Order Number 13. This was a drastic measure, but its stern justice was authorized by an exigency of war.

The following extracts from this Order give an accurate idea of the condition of Missouri at this time: "... The rebel forces in the southwestern counties of this State have robbed and

plundered the peaceful non-combatant inhabitants, taking from them their clothing and means of subsistence. Men, women, and children have alike been stripped and plundered. Thousands of such persons are finding their way to this city, barefooted, half-clad, and in a destitute, starving condition. Humanity and justice require that these sufferings should be relieved. . . . There are in our city, and in other places within our lines, numerous wealthy secessionists who render aid, assistance, and encouragement to those who commit these outrages. They do not themselves rob and plunder, but they abet and countenance these acts in others. . . . It is therefore ordered and directed that the Provost Marshals immediately inquire into the condition of the persons so driven from their homes, and that measures be taken to quarter them in the houses, and feed and clothe them at the expense of avowed secessionists and of those who are found guilty of giving aid, assistance, and encouragement to the enemy."

There is no evidence that any refugees were actually "quartered" in secessionists' homes. A statement was published that the execution of this part of the order had been turned over to the Western Sanitary Commission, and this called forth a rejoinder from Dr. Eliot, who wrote: "The care of the refugees from southwest Missouri has been intrusted to this Committee, and

we have no doubt will be faithfully and kindly exercised. But as to confiscations and the like, the 'Board of Assessors' and the Provost Marshal will be, as we suppose, the sole and sufficient actors, nor have we yet heard of any houses or other property as having been taken for the refugees or any other uses."

On December 12, 1861, General Order Number 24 was issued by General Halleck. This authorized, for the benefit of the refugees, the levying on men "known to be hostile to the Union" of a contribution of $10,000 in clothing, provisions, and quarters, or money in lieu thereof. By this assessment the sum of $15,000 was raised and turned over to the Western Sanitary Commission for the benefit of the refugees. For two years Mr. Cavender, with the advice and counsel of the members of the Commission, continued, for these unfortunate people, a work which was terminated only by his illness and death in the winter of 1863. From that period until September of the same year, there seemed to be little need for further aid.

In August, 1863, there began another movement of refugees towards St. Louis. They came from a larger area than before, from Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. They were brought up the river on government steamers. The majority were women, with poorly clad, puny little children. Their

husbands had been killed in the war, murdered by guerrillas, or conscripted into the rebel army, which was largely recruited from the "poor white trash" of the South. Others, lying out in the woods to avoid conscription, had died from the effects of exposure. The following typical account of the persecution to which Union families were exposed in certain sections of the country is related as one instance among thousands of parallel cases, by the secretary of the Western Sanitary Commission. A mother with four little children arrived at the refugee home from Arkansas on her way to friends in Kentucky. Her husband had been a prosperous farmer, owning a well-stocked farm. As he was known to be a Union man, he was often forced to lie out in the woods for weeks at a time to escape being conscripted into the rebel army or murdered. From time to time the guerrillas came to his house, seizing horses, cattle, corn, and even bed clothing from the beds, and the family apparel. At last they caught him while on a visit to his family, called him out into his dooryard, told him he was a —— traitor to the South, tore him away with violent hands from his weeping wife and children, led him a short distance down the road, and shot him.

They then returned and told the widow she must go to Pilot Knob, or they would burn her house over her head. She yoked up the last ox

team, put her bedding and children in the wagon, and started for Pilot Knob, a distance of two hundred miles, traveling at the rate of fifteen miles a day. When she had been nearly a week on the road, and her stock of provisions was almost exhausted, she met a party of guerrillas. Regardless of her entreaties, they unhitched the yoke of steers from the old wagon, took her clothing and provisions, and left her in the road with her little children crying around her. The poor woman and her children reached Pilot Knob, footsore and weary. From there they were sent to St. Louis by rail, and were kindly received at the refugee home, and sent to friends in Kentucky, where the mother and children found a welcome in her father's home.

As there had been no place for these poor refugee women and children to go when this second movement began, another refugee home was immediately opened by the Western Sanitary Commission at 39 Walnut Street. This was maintained for a year, from September, 1863, to September, 1864, and during this period received and provided for 2164 refugees. A refugee home, which sheltered at different times several thousand inmates, was also opened at Vicksburg. Wherever refugees assembled in any number, they were placed by the government under the special care of the army chaplains, and rations were issued to those unable to work. To many of

these chaplains the Western Sanitary Commission sent stores for distribution.

To Pilot Knob, where there were always large numbers of these people, ranging from a thousand to fifteen hundred, came in October, 1864, the rebel general Sterling Price. The post was captured, and hundreds of refugees, who had assisted in the defense of the place, fled for their lives, leaving their families behind them. On one day sixty men came to St. Louis with their German pastor, many of them shoeless, hatless, and half clad. At the same time there arrived many women and children. It again became necessary for the third and last time to start a refugee home in St. Louis. The Western Sanitary Commission addressed a communication to the government, and secured the Lawson Hospital, which they entirely furnished and opened in November, 1864. This was both a refugee and freedman's home, and until July, 1865, when it was finally closed, it gave shelter, food, medical care, and instruction to several thousand refugees and freed people, who occupied separate portions of the building. The women were taught cooking, house and laundry work, and paid small wages. The number of white refugees was about double that of the blacks, and in many cases they were found to be inferior in capability to the recently emancipated negroes, having that scorn of work which is engendered by the existence of slavery as a

system, and being very ignorant. Not more than *one tenth* of the white refugees who applied to the Commission for aid were able to read and write.

In addition to the shelter afforded to the refugees through the homes provided by the Commission, other assistance was given them, both collectively and individually. Temporary aid was supplemented by efforts tending to a permanent improvement of their condition. As in the case of the freedmen, schools were opened by the Western Sanitary Commission for the education of the children of refugees, with a view to rescuing them from probable vagrancy, and making them useful members of society. This was in accordance with Dr. Eliot's cherished conviction that popular education should be the corner-stone of the reconstructed republic.

In a letter addressed to General O. O. Howard of the Freedman's Bureau, under date of August 10, 1865, Mr. Yeatman, president of the Commission, wrote: —

"This Commission, in order to aid government and lighten some of the burdens of the military commanders, especially in this military district, has rendered some assistance to the white refugees. . . . Besides taking care of the refugees in this city, it has sustained refugee homes at Vicksburg, Natchez, and Helena. It has teachers employed at Vicksburg, St. Louis, and Rolla. It has furnished clothing, books, medicine, vegetables, garden seeds, garden implements, farming utensils, and teachers to every point from which

application was made for them. . . . The points embraced in our work have been Natchez, Vicksburg, Helena, Little Rock, Duvall's Bluff, Fort Smith, Fayetteville; Ironton, Cape Girardeau, Rolla, and Springfield, Missouri."

From a report of the Arkansas Relief Commission we learn that nearly all the suffering and destitution among the refugees in Arkansas was "the result of their being what is called Union families."

In the fall of 1862, before the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, large numbers of the so-called contrabands took refuge within our lines, and it became a perplexing problem how to dispose of them. At Helena three or four thousand of these people had collected in the summer of 1862, seeking refuge near the army. They were established by General Washburn in a place back of the town which became known as Camp Ethiopia. Here they lived in cast-off army tents, in caves, and in shelters of brush. Others were crowded into wretched dwellings. This was the best temporary provision that could be made for them, but as winter approached their suffering was extreme. The able-bodied men were compelled to labor on the fortifications of the town, to load and unload steamboats, and to perform all kinds of "fatigue duty." Nominally they were paid ten dollars a month for their services, as provided by congressional enactment; but through the indifference of the military com-

manders succeeding General Curtis, their names were frequently not enrolled, and they received no compensation for months of toil. Often they were seized by press-gangs, who patrolled the streets to gather up contrabands for forced labor. Under these conditions they were unable to provide for their families, who must be furnished with government rations. At one time, contrary to the Articles of War, they were driven by a military order beyond our lines, and delivered up to their rebel masters. Hundreds of these poor people were ill, and the only hospital provided for them would hardly suffice for twenty patients. Early in January, 1863, Miss Maria R. Mann, a philanthropic woman of superior ability, was sent by the Western Sanitary Commission to Helena, Arkansas, with a large supply of hospital and other stores, to fit up a hospital for the colored people and supply their most urgent needs. She was assisted in her work by two of the army chaplains on detached service at Helena, and distressing conditions were greatly ameliorated. She received contributions of money and material from friends in New England, and Dr. Eliot was treasurer of a special fund for the same purpose, also donated by people from that section. He records the receipt of $980 from Miss Elizabeth Peabody, for Miss Mann.

"During the month of October, 1863, the condition of the (now) freed people again enlisted

the earnest consideration of the Western Sanitary Commission," wrote their secretary, Rev. J. G. Forman. The same state of things that had existed at Helena was reported as existing at many other points between Columbus, Kentucky, and Natchez, Mississippi.

At a meeting of the Board of the Commission held November 2, 1863, Dr. Eliot "described the suffering condition of the contrabands, and negro troops of the Mississippi Valley," and suggested that an agent be sent to New England to solicit contributions of clothing and funds, and that the agencies of the Commission be used for distributing supplies to the needy freed people, and exercising a general oversight and care over them. He also advised that the Commission send teachers to the South and establish schools, and that General Schofield be asked to detail Chaplain H. D. Fisher to go to New England to solicit funds for these purposes.

Four days later, on the 6th of November, a letter was addressed by the Commission to the President. His attention was called to the needs of the freed people, and to the necessity of assisting them before another winter set in. The Commission offered, as an incidental part of its work, to solicit contributions and extend relief to them. The proposal was favorably regarded, and the Secretary of War promised all the aid possible in the way of transportation and otherwise.

At the same time, with the cordial approval of General Schofield, Chaplain H. D. Fisher was sent to New England, under the direction of the Commission, to solicit funds. As a result, clothing, shoes, and other articles, amounting in value to $30,000, and $13,000 additional in money, were obtained by a committee in Boston, from that place and neighboring cities and towns.

In December, 1863, the president of the Western Sanitary Commission made a visit to the lower Mississippi to investigate the condition of the freedmen. The information he thus obtained was embodied in a long report of sixteen pages, of which a brief abstract follows. Mr. Yeatman found about forty thousand of these freed people gathered in camps at different places between Cairo and Natchez. Their condition was almost uniformly wretched. In the cotton-growing region, on abandoned plantations, were discovered about twenty colored men who had raised from five to ten bales of cotton. The majority of their race were working for white lessees at inadequate wages, $5 a month for women, and $7 for men, with wretched subsistence. When employed by government quartermasters, the freedmen were frequently not paid, and were overcharged for goods. In Memphis large numbers had been pressed into the government service at $10 a month, when they might have earned elsewhere two or three times that amount. "Besides the

fact that men are thus pressed into service," declared Mr. Yeatman, "thousands have been employed for weeks and months who have never received anything but promises to pay." It was hardly matter for surprise that the negroes were everywhere "greatly depressed at their condition." The only thing, we are told, that sustained them, was their wonderful faith in Divine Providence.

When this report was submitted to the Western Sanitary Commission, Mr. Yeatman was delegated to visit Washington and present the matter to the government. Mr. Yeatman also took with him a series of printed "suggestions of organization for freed labor and the leasing of plantations along the Mississippi River," for the consideration of the authorities at Washington. Both the report and the suggestions were highly approved, and Mr. Yeatman authorized to accompany Mr. Mellen, the special supervising agent of the Treasury Department, to Vicksburg to carry the plan into effect.

This new plan of labor required that the freedman should receive from $12 to $25 per month for his work in the cotton field, and provided for the enforcement of the contract as to labor and wages. The price of goods was regulated, and arrangement was made for the establishment, under a superintendent, of home farms for the helpless and destitute, these latter to be sup-

ported by the income of a tax levied by the government on cotton. Provision was also made for schools and teachers. To carry out this new order of things commissioners of plantations, acting under the Treasury Department, were to be appointed.

This system at first met with some opposition from the lessees, but was finally acquiesced in. After the removal of the troops from some of the districts the Secretary of War consented to give the services of the Mounted Brigade to protect the freed people on the plantations.

To obtain funds for the continued work of the Western Sanitary Commission, it was decided in the winter of 1863–64 to hold a Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair at St. Louis in the spring. In March a pamphlet was issued by the Commission containing a report of its past work and a statement of that which remained to be done in the coming year, for which $500,000 were required, since the present resources were exhausted. Notice was given of the coming fair to be held in May, of which the Freedmen's and Union Refugees' Department was to be (by "unanimous vote of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair") a special department. Dr. Eliot and Mr. Yeatman "were appointed a Committee to prepare an appeal to the friends of freedom everywhere, soliciting sympathy and coöperation in the success of this department." From this

appeal, written by Dr. Eliot, extracts are subjoined for the information therein contained as to the work then being accomplished for these two classes of suffering people: "From the beginning of the rebellion," asserted Dr. Eliot, "the Western Sanitary Commission has devoted much time and attention to the Union refugees, and has done all in its power for their protection. . . . Many thousands of this most unfortunate class of citizens have been provided for. In this work the Commission has acted partly as agents of the government, and partly with funds entrusted to it for such uses. It has always been much restricted by want of means . . . but of those who have succeeded in reaching the city none have been left to suffer.

"Since the month of October, 1863, the Western Sanitary Commission has also acted as the agents of relief to the freed people of the Mississippi Valley. It has received and distributed goods and clothing to the amount of $40,000, and is still prosecuting the work through its own agents and those of the freedmen's aid associations of St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, and other cities. It has also labored with success to ameliorate the condition of the freedmen, by exposing the oppression, almost worse than slavery, to which they were subjected by unmerciful contractors and army sharks, with reason to hope that a just system of work and wages

will soon be established in its place. If the freed people are but treated with justice, generosity will not long be needed. But for the current year, during the transition period, there is enough to do, and all the funds that the largest philanthropy can spare will find profitable employment. In elevating two million of slaves to the condition of freedmen, all the zeal and liberality of a Christian community will find room to work."

Notice was given that an additional appeal would be issued in a few days. This appeared in the form of a letter addressed to Dr. Eliot, and dated Vicksburg, March 7, 1864. It was written by Mr. Mann, a regular agent of the Commission, and contained a description of the condition of the negroes who followed Sherman's army into Vicksburg.

Mr. Mann wrote : —

"The return of Sherman's expedition had been anticipated by us all as sure to bring along a crowd of blacks, but no one, I think, had formed an idea of the utter destitution, the squalid misery in which they would come. All the way from Meridian this black river flowed in the wake of the army, increased by constant accessions, until sullen and slow it wound its way into Vicksburg with 4500 souls. Following through a country twice ravaged by a devouring host, they had literally nothing left them for subsistence but the remnants left by our troops. Foraging parties scoured the country on either hand to obtain supplies for the soldiers, but no one brought these people food, and houses and barns pillaged and burnt left nothing for them save what the hungry soldier could spare. . . .

"The expedition returned here on the 3d inst. Just at dusk the train of contrabands came in. Slowly and sadly they dragged along through the streets. Mules and oxen gaunt and famished, wagons loaded with children whose weary, despairing look will haunt me, I believe, as long as I live, with a mother or two in each trying to soothe the little ones crying with hunger and fatigue, all clothed in the dirt-colored homespun they always wear, torn to rags and tatters, leaving them in many cases almost naked. . . . The little I could do for these poor people that night I did. Anticipating a need, I had drawn on the commissary heavily for bread, and had a large amount on hand. I had the ambulance of the Western Sanitary Commission loaded with this bread, and taking along half a dozen kind-hearted soldiers, we went the whole length of this wagon train, and gave to each family a loaf or two. . . . The eagerness with which they took and ate it told how grateful it was to them. . . . That night they lay on the levee in their wagons, and on the ground."

Mr. Mann relates how the following morning "the authorities undertook to place this quondam merchandise on board the boats that were waiting to remove them to their future camps." Many objected, and eluded the guards. The camps were cheerless places, the only shelter being "a long shed open on all sides." This was the only practicable temporary arrangement that could be made at the time. Rations were furnished by the government, and Mr. Mann distributed clothing furnished by the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York. Gradually matters improved. Commenting on the condition of the negroes at Pawpaw Island, Mr.

Mann wrote: "When I visited them in company with Mr. Yeatman several weeks ago, indolence was the rule and sickness very common; the other day being called over there on business I saw that they were almost all at work, men and women, in field and cabin, and almost all were well."

The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair was in every respect a success. It was generously supported by the people of Missouri and other States. The proceeds exceeded the sum asked and required for the work of the coming year by the Western Sanitary Commission, amounting to over half a million dollars. From the actual receipts credited to the Refugees' and Freedmen's Department, supplemented by donations of which the disposal was left to the option of the Commission, nearly $32,000 was obtained for this branch of their work. The entire amount expended for refugees and freedmen by that organization during the war was over $72,000. In addition nearly two hundred boxes of clothing and material were received. Boston and the neighboring towns contributed new material for clothing amounting in value to $40,000. This latter donation was distributed to freedmen in camps along the Mississippi in 1864. Clothing, hospital, and sanitary stores for the use of refugees and freedmen were sent to thirty or more different points, and the entire estimated value of the supplies thus dis-

tributed was $65,000, which, added to the cash expenditures, made a total of nearly $138,000 used in this incidental work of the Western Sanitary Commission.

To provide for the colored orphans thus left destitute during the war, in May, 1864, a building was purchased by the Western Sanitary Commission, and fitted up as a freedmen's orphans' home at a total cost of $12,000. To this institution, later known as the Colored Orphans' Home, the Commission in 1870 donated the additional sum of $7000.

As preliminary work in the education of the children of refugees and freedmen before the organization of the various freedmen's aid societies, the Western Sanitary Commission established and maintained nine schools, and appointed and paid sixteen women teachers. Ten thousand school books were furnished. This educational work was especially advocated and advised by Dr. Eliot.

Under date of June 24, 1864, is an entry in the record book of the Commission, which is interesting, as showing the change involved in the status of a race through its emancipation. The extract follows: "The president of the Commission stated that an application had been made for aid to the colored schools of St. Louis. In the same connection it was also stated that a petition had been made to the board of education of St.

Louis to appropriate towards the support of these schools an amount equal to the tax on the property of colored citizens for school purposes; that the petition was favorably received, and a disposition existed to grant the appropriation, but a difficulty arose from the laws of the State making it a criminal offense to teach this class of children, the board not feeling itself at liberty to violate in its organic capacity the state law; but they had decided to petition the legislature at its next session to repeal all such laws, which no doubt would be done. On the removal of this difficulty the board would, without any doubt, make a suitable appropriation for the colored schools of St. Louis. Until this can be done those schools must be aided from other sources.

"On motion of Dr. Eliot it was voted to appropriate one hundred dollars per month for the above purpose from funds given for this class of charities."

A high school for the children of colored people was, during the year 1864–65, carried on in the basement of the Church of the Messiah, of which Dr. Eliot was pastor. It was supported from funds contributed by friends of Dr. Eliot in Massachusetts.

In the winter of 1864–65 an Act creating a Refugees' and Freedmen's National Bureau was passed by Congress. The position of commissioner of this bureau was offered to Mr. Yeatman,

and declined. Major-General O. O. Howard was then appointed. At the close of this year, 1865, there were also a number of freedmen's relief associations engaged in the work of supplying teachers and schools to the freed people of the South, and the Western Sanitary Commission withdrew from a labor, always incidental to its primary object of relieving physical need.

The proceeds of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair enabled the Western Sanitary Commission to widen the circle of its beneficence, and accomplish many useful purposes. On motion, and with the advice of Dr. Eliot, a building with extensive grounds was purchased at Webster, Missouri, for a soldiers' orphans' home. For this property, and in the erection of additional buildings, $57,000 was expended, and later, $25,000 towards the endowment of this home was contributed by the Commission. To the "War Relief Fund," for the benefit of the families of soldiers throughout the North, $25,000 was given. To the Ladies' Union Aid Society, which had been an invaluable adjunct in the work of the Western Sanitary Commission during the war, in furnishing hospital and other stores, the sum of $50,000 was donated, to be expended by them in the continuance of their useful work.

In January, 1864, there appeared in the "North American Review" an article on "The Sanitary Commission," in which no mention was

made of the work of the Western Sanitary Commission. This called forth a response from Dr. Eliot, published in the same magazine, in April, 1864, and also as a pamphlet. In this article Dr. Eliot gave an account of the origin of the Western Commission and its methods. Referring to the sources of their receipts and the mode of collection, Dr. Eliot stated that their experience in this respect was "remarkable, if not peculiar."

The Western Sanitary Commission, not wishing to interfere with the plans of the United States Commission, never adopted a regular system of auxiliaries, but relied chiefly upon spontaneous contributions which came to them in response to the notices and appeals, written by Dr. Eliot, which were published in the papers from time to time, about once in six months. Largely through the influence of that ardent patriot, Thomas Starr King, California, early in the war, contributed $50,000. In January, 1863, $50,000, as previously stated, was collected in Boston. In January, 1864, $30,000 was subscribed in St. Louis in one week. The Missouri Legislature gave to the Commission $75,000, to be appropriated to the relief of Missouri soldiers, and the St. Louis County Court contributed to the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair a farm which sold for $40,000. The receipts of the fair added over half a million to the funds of the Commission.

When Dr. Eliot's article was written in the spring of 1864, Massachusetts had already sent $500,000 to the Western Sanitary Commission, and Boston alone $200,000. These contributions were later increased by money and goods sent from Boston and vicinity for the refugees and freedmen. Massachusetts and Missouri thus led in the generosity of their offerings, all of which came as an expression of confidence in the work of the members of the Western Sanitary Commission, by whom about four and a quarter millions in money and goods was distributed during the war period. Probably an equal amount of money never accomplished more good.

Such were the changing conditions during the Civil War in Missouri, that it would have been impossible for a sanitary commission acting from a distance to understand and direct such work as was accomplished by the members of the Western Sanitary Commission, who had long been actively associated with the interests and institutions of St. Louis, and understood the signs of the times. They had been chosen for their unquestioned loyalty, their efficiency and discretion. Mr. Yeatman, a Southerner by birth and a slaveholder by inheritance, had early revolted against the system of slavery, yet appreciated the situation of those who had grown up where it was a recognized social institution. He had at first ranged himself with the Conditional Union party,

but was too loyal, too sensible, too just, to retain that position. His experience of the evils of slavery gave him a special interest in the work for the freedmen, in which he was very active and efficient. Too generous in his impulses to acquire great wealth, when he had given all that he could he regretted that he had no more to spare. A letter written by Dr. Eliot to him in the summer of 1886 is quoted as a deserved tribute to a Christian gentleman.

JAS. E. YEATMAN:

My very dear friend, — If I were called upon to name the six most useful men in St. Louis since 1861 until now, I should put you among them, and probably at head of the list. To a benevolent man money-giving is an easy service; but to give time and sympathy and personal regard is the real test of Christian charity. It is this which comes hard to most of us, and the want of it neutralizes all efforts to aid the poor and suffering. To you it seems like the breath of the nostrils, and the blessings of many who were ready to perish come upon you. I know of no man the daily record of whose life is a so uninterrupted benediction, and your brotherly friendship is to me a priceless treasure. Never breathe a word of regret that silver and gold are wanting, when you are daily giving so much better things.

Most truly yours,

W. G. ELIOT.

At the annual celebration of the Alumni of Washington University, March 2, 1871, Dr. Eliot made the following announcement: "A few weeks ago the University, by unanimous vote of its

directors, accepted in trust the sum of $30,000, from the Western Sanitary Commission, for the endowment of twenty scholarships in the collegiate and polytechnic departments, to be filled by the children and descendants of Union soldiers who served in the late Civil War, and in default of such applicants, by students recommended by the superintendent of the St. Louis public schools, and the principal of the high school.

"At the same time the sum of $10,000 was received in trust from the same source as a sustentation fund, for the aid of such descendants of Union soldiers filling the scholarships, and of others, at the discretion of the board of directors. Both the scholarships and the fund will bear the name of the Western Sanitary Commission, of which James E. Yeatman is president, and Carlos S. Greeley, treasurer; and it may not be out of place to say that the whole of this money now paid over is interest earnings of the money received by the Sanitary Commission, under the careful management of the treasurer, the whole principal amount given by the public having been accounted for many years ago. That is my idea of a model treasurer, who had in his hands at one time over $600,000, for all of which he was individually responsible, for the management of which he never received a dollar's salary, and for the safe keeping of which he never gave security or bond."

After Dr. Eliot's death, from the same "interest earnings" of the Western Sanitary Commission fund, an important bequest was made at the instance of Mr. Yeatman, to the Nurses' Training School of St. Louis, a useful and much needed institution, in the establishment of which Dr. Eliot had been much interested. In suggesting that this action be taken, Mr. Yeatman made an address before the board of the Commission, of which he copied the following portion and sent it to a member of Dr. Eliot's family: "I recommend that a sum of not less than ten thousand dollars be appropriated for the erection of a building for the Nurses' Training School of St. Louis, to be used as a home for nurses, and to be known as the William G. Eliot Memorial Home, in honor of him whose loss we have been called so recently to mourn, one who has been associated with us for more than a quarter of a century, and who may justly be considered the originator of the Western Sanitary Commission, of which the Soldiers' Orphans' Home is but the outgrowth, its continuity so to speak. We must all acknowledge that we are indebted to our lamented friend and brother for its paternity.

"It was his patriotic and philanthropic head and heart which conceived, organized, and vitalized the Western Sanitary Commission.

"In saying this no injustice is intended or will be done to others, whom he selected to coöperate,

and who labored not less faithfully and zealously through all those troublesome times that so tried the hearts and souls of men, and who have continued their labors down to the present day. We who have been associated with, and labored with him, must feel that the credit belonged to William G. Eliot more than to any other person for the growth and success of the Western Sanitary Commission. He should have been its head, and I can truly say was so, in all but name. His modest merit prevented him from allowing himself to be made the president of the association, an organization created by himself; but it was his mind which conceived, brought into life, harmonized, united and brought all of its members to work together as one man, and by reason of which the wonderful results of the Commission were accomplished, and through which all the humanities of the war vitalized and crystallized.

"I feel that no more fitting monument could be erected to a man, who did so much, not only for the work with which we have been associated with him, but for all the great and varied charities, educational, philanthropic, and all things else, which would benefit humanity, and would advance the material and moral interests of the city.

"There has been no citizen who has shown a greater public spirit, or done more for the general good of the city, and his loss will be felt and deplored for long years to come."

CHAPTER XI

THE NEGRO IN THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

In the spring of 1865, when the festival of Easter was near at hand, suddenly on the evening of Good Friday, in a theatre of the National Capital, there rang out a pistol shot whose echo might have been heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, so quickly sped the ominous message that a great leader, patient, wise, just, and good, had fallen a victim to the spirit of disloyalty and treason incarnated in a fanatic.

A few days previously, in token of rejoicing at the near approach of peace, the pulpit of the Church of the Messiah in St. Louis had been draped with American flags; but when the news of the assassination of President Lincoln was received, as Dr. Eliot declared, "before the thanksgiving was uttered," the funeral black was spread over the national colors "in token of a nation's grief."

Easter Sunday, in front of the pulpit on the communion table, lilies, perpetual symbol of the immortal life, glowed against the sombre background. Dr. Eliot, in accordance with his usual

custom on that anniversary, preached a sermon on the "Resurrection." At its close he referred to the death of church members, and then in tones of deep solemnity said: "But why should I dwell upon our personal bereavements when we are all suffering under this dreadful weight of national grief? The whole nation mourns; the loyal, because the honored and beloved head of our country has been stricken down by an assassin's hand; the disloyal, because among all their supposed enemies the kindliest heart has ceased to beat. Under this amazement of grief, in this tumult of sorrow, I scarcely dare to speak." Dr. Eliot found in this "dreadful act," although probably "the work of a few," another proof of the terrible guilt of treason and one of its ultimate legitimate results. Reiterating the sentiments expressed in his sermon delivered at the beginning of the war on the "Higher Law Doctrine," he said: "The underlying sin of rebellion is found in the resistance of law, in the attempt to overthrow the established order of society by taking the law into one's own hands. The first gun that was fired in Charleston harbor at the Star of the West is that whose echo is this day filling our hearts with dread. Treason has now done its worst, to the horror of those who, perhaps, first instigated it; but they who deliberately took the first step of wrong cannot be held blameless of its final result." Dr. Eliot

believed that in view of "this terrible calamity," all "minor differences of opinion would disappear," and all citizens "make common cause for the maintenance of law and the restoration of peace."

The inculcation and growth of the spirit of reverence for law, Dr. Eliot considered the basis of the work of reconstruction in the South. With the majority of his countrymen, he regarded the death of Lincoln at the beginning of that critical period as an irreparable loss both to whites and blacks in the former slave States. He had always foreseen the gravity of the social problems that would attend sudden emancipation. Now that it had come to pass, he realized the complications that would arise from the changed attitude of two races, in the passage from absolute dominance on one side and servility on the other, to nominal equality of rights under the Constitution and laws. He believed that all changes in the reconstruction of society should be slow to be permanent and thorough, and deprecated premature legislation, for which the blacks were yet unprepared. Believing as he did that there would have been no rebellion had there been a system of popular education throughout the South, he emphasized that and educated industrial training as among the most potent agencies to be employed in the restoration of peace and prosperity. To the voters of Missouri

he said, "Build schoolhouses for all the children of the State. . . . Open evening schools for adults, so that every voter may be taught to read the laws he is required to obey. . . . Put off this troublesome question of negro suffrage to be finally settled by the people in five or ten years. . . . In the mean while establish the principle of intelligent manhood as the standard by which to measure men." Popular education, with the resulting increased intelligence and respect for law, was clearly a fundamental basis of reconstruction in Dr. Eliot's judgment.

Dr. Eliot's constant interest in the welfare of the colored race continued through this reconstruction period, and he watched with solicitude the progress of events. Although the Republicans made many mistakes, he believed that for some years to come the cause of the negro would be safest in their hands; and when, in 1872, the radicals opposed to Grant's reëlection to the presidency advocated coalition with the Democratic party, and the candidacy of Horace Greeley, Dr. Eliot viewed the movement with apprehension, especially as regarded the effect of Greeley's election upon the treatment of the negro in the Southern and Border States, Missouri among the rest. He therefore wrote to Charles Sumner, then one of Greeley's ardent supporters, expressing his concern at the turn things were taking in the Border States, fearing that if the Greeley coali-

tion party succeeded, much of their social work would require to be done over again. In the event of Greeley's election he believed that the "local leaders of the old Secessionist party would control matters not only in the Southern, but the Border States, there already being observable a manifest change of tone for the worst even in St. Louis, where the prime movers were not the loyal Democrats, but the active rebels of 1862–63, the few Republicans standing with them not all being trustworthy.

"On the whole," Dr. Eliot wrote to Mr. Sumner, "I firmly believe that the second election of Lincoln was not more important to the safety and progress of the country than the success of the Republican party is now. It is true that Grant has made many mistakes, and will make many more. . . . But the success of Greeley would be the success of the Southern Democrats, so far as the South and its interests are concerned, and the barbarism of social oppression towards the weaker race would be re-established. I sincerely hope that you, 'the friend of the downtrodden,' will not lend the potent influence of your name to this new departure."

The reply of Charles Sumner to Dr. Eliot's communication was published in the "New York Tribune" four years later, in 1876, with the statement that it had been written "in reply to

a friend in Missouri who had expressed distrust of the action of the Democratic leaders if they should obtain control of the Border States." The letter shows the extent to which the judgment of a statesman may be warped by prejudice. Mr. Sumner wrote in part: "I am obliged by your letter and note with pain what you say about Democrats. The attempt now making is one of the greatest in political history. It is to bring an adverse political party on the platform it has always opposed. It is a revolution by which Democrats become Republicans and the issues of the war are settled.

"In such a change there must be difficulties and trials. Original prejudice cannot be conquered at once. But we must not be discouraged. The Democrats stand on the same platform as we do, and they accept as their candidate a lifetime abolitionist."

Unfortunately for Sumner's ardent hopes as to the result of the transformation of Democrats into Republicans, Greeley was overwhelmingly defeated in the election that soon followed. In the fall of 1876, Dr. Eliot again felt much solicitude as to the result of the approaching presidential election, believing as he did that "a united South with a Northern plastic supplement" meant "a renewed rebellion against law and order." His fears were dispelled when Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected, and

a new policy was adopted more in accordance with Dr. Eliot's own judgment. While desiring strict justice and kindness for the blacks, he had not approved of forcing political supremacy upon them. Regarding the premature enfranchisement of the blacks as a misfortune to the race, he sympathized with the people of the South in the resulting misgovernment.

For two consecutive winters after the close of the Civil War Dr. Eliot visited New Orleans in the interest of the Unitarian Church there, which had suffered in the general disorganization. With the same object in view he returned to New Orleans very soon after Hayes's inauguration, and found that social and political conditions had not improved in the intervening period. Two parties existed in Louisiana, one composed of the colored voters with a small white Republican contingent, the other of the great majority of the white voters, Democrats. Neither party recognized the other, and each had elected a governor, Packard representing the former party, and Nicholls the latter. The Packard government was sustained by the Federal authorities. Believing that the only solution of so unsatisfactory a condition of affairs lay in a change of policy on the part of the incoming administration, and that the people of Louisiana should have greater latitude in the settlement of their domestic affairs, Dr. Eliot wrote to President Hayes a

letter of which the original, marked "Sent March 26, 1877," was as follows: —

I. I have been in New Orleans the past week, and knowing how difficult it is to get at the truth of things, have thought it may be of some use to tell you my own impressions. As I am quite well acquainted there, and mix freely with all classes, and as I am under no suspicion of having interested motives or an official duty to discharge, my opportunities for learning the real feeling of the community have been reasonably good, although I claim no special skill of interpretation. If you attach sufficient importance to it to inquire who I am, you can do so from Hon. Carl Schurz or General Sherman.

The result in my mind is that whatever abstract justice may demand under a strict construction of the Fifteenth Amendment, the recognition of Packard involves the *present and continued* maintenance of his authority by the United States military strength. Upon this point there is no division of opinion. Whether or not it would be a quiet, though enforced maintenance, is doubtful; my own opinion is that there would be frequent strife, an increase of bitter feeling, in short, a continuance of suppressed rebellion, ready to break out at a moment's notice, and on slight provocation, in every part of the State. It must be a strong and visible rule of recognized *Power* at the best.

The population of the city and State is almost unanimous in refusal to submit to the Packard control, except at the point of the bayonet. Under Packard the Government at Washington would be the Government of Louisiana, except that the details would be administered by incompetent, timid, and half-educated men.

I was yesterday in the legislature, both House and Senate, of the Republican party, and also in the governor's parlor; and although I am and always have been a Republican, and in every way on the freedom side, I must frankly

confess that I should not be willing to trust my interests to the influences and men which there control. A *large* majority of the legislature is composed of colored people, who are certainly not above the average of respectable negroes in our cities, and the white members, if I may judge by appearance and manners, are a very second rate sort of men. Any one individual of decided ability and good knowledge of parliamentary rule, could easily control the whole assembly in either house.

I cannot wonder at the unwillingness of property holders and educated people to be under the control of such bodies of men, even if lawfully elected; but add to this the universal conviction here that most of them were not so elected, and the obstinacy of resistance is only what might reasonably be expected.

II. If the troops are withdrawn without distinct recognition of either party, the Packard government will be compelled quickly to give way. I doubt if it could continue a week, many think not an hour. The moderate Conservatives say that no attack would be made, and no compulsion used, and the leaders would honestly try to prevent it, but the young men would be with difficulty restrained, and the fear excited would be such that no Packard legislature or body would dare to keep together. I find the women, the mothers and wives, much more outspoken and bitter than the men, and the whole social influence in all circles, especially the highest, is in favor of strong and summary measures. At all events, one way or the other, the Packard party would quickly subside, with or without protest, having no inherent strength and no external support. The Nicholls government would then exist *de facto* if not *de jure*, and would soon of necessity be the recognized government of the State. Whether or not it is possible to recognize Nicholls, I do not pretend to decide. If the question could have been decided at the election in such a manner as to get an intelligent fair vote, it is not improbable that the Repub-

lican Electoral Ticket would have prevailed and the State Democratic. I find almost no opposition to the National Ticket at present, but on the contrary a prevailing contentment, which could easily be converted to entire support. Certainly, taking things as they are, the question is clearly divisible, in equity at least; for in their local affairs the largest possible latitude of choice should be allowed, and those who hold the chief interests of the State should be permitted to control them.

III. Under Democratic rule it is not probable that the spirit of the Fifteenth Amendment will be kept, and scarcely the letter of it, for some years to come. Things will settle down to about the same level as in Mississippi and Alabama; and where the blacks are in the majority, or approximating it, they will be "discouraged" from voting, with whatever degree of moral or physical force may be requisite to secure the end. They will be entirely free to vote the Democratic ticket, and beyond that will have freedom with penalty.

But gradually that will improve, as the colored people advance in thrift and intelligence, as new social and political issues arise, and as the educational interests of the South are better regarded. In the last element the only sure hope for the future is found, and if an educational test or qualification for voting could be secured by an Amendment to the Constitution, we might reasonably look for enduring peace.

Such results will be slow and not quite satisfactory, but in no other direction is the outlook equally good. I was in New Orleans, in charge of a congregation, part of the two winters immediately succeeding the war, and am sorry to say that nothing has been gained since that time. Both the color line and the party line are more marked, political and social animosity is increased. A whole generation of young persons has grown up deeply imbued with a sense of injustice suffered, of wrongs endured, so that nothing but the hopelessness of resistance prevents an outbreak. The con-

tinuance of such a condition of things is not safe nor wise, even if practicable. From good authority I can state that ten thousand armed militia in New Orleans, and thirty-five in the other parishes, are ready at a moment's notice. They are well drilled, ably officered, and held under constraint only by strict military discipline. They are willing to serve at their own cost, and when needed, voluntary supplies of money come in. Such an organization of men, *with the belief that their cause is just*, cannot be regarded with indifference, scarcely without fear, particularly when we think that the whole South is in hearty sympathy with them.

I am very sure that some method must be found of effective conciliation, and believe that the hardships incident to the colored people will be less than in a continuance of the past policy of government *ab extra*, which will soon be nothing else than a social war of races in which the weaker must be crushed.

Few men have worked harder for the Union cause or for the colored race, both slaves and freedmen, than I have in my poor way; but I should be willing to take the responsibility of the new policy, if it were mine to take, and with it whatever blame might come. He serves his party best who serves his country best, and the moral courage of moderation is often greater than that of force.

I trust you will pardon me, Mr. President, for this intrusion. I began this letter in New Orleans, and have written much of it in the railroad cars, and very hastily; but the opinions expressed have been deliberately gained, and I believe are substantially correct.

Earnestly praying for the complete and perfect success of your administration, and feeling sure of it,

I remain, though unknown to you,

Your friend, W. G. Eliot.

April 8, 1877, there appeared in the "St. Louis Republican" a letter from Dr. Eliot re-

lating to the condition of affairs in Louisiana, and embodying substantially the facts and opinions expressed in his letter to President Hayes. In prefatory remarks it was announced editorially that a reporter had called upon Dr. Eliot to request from him a statement for publication immediately upon his return from New Orleans, but as Dr. Eliot had at that time addressed a letter to prominent personages in Washington relating in detail the impression made upon him by his observations in New Orleans, he regarded it as improper to convey these facts to the press, until his communication had been received in Washington. In the published letter the same facts were related with a fuller expression of opinion regarding causes and remedies. "Why should we not frankly and openly admit," wrote Dr. Eliot, "that, in 1865, as a nation we went too fast? Under the united influence of patriotism and party spirit, of passion and philanthropy, we undertook the unstatesmanlike task, not only of giving freedom to four millions of slaves, which was right, but of transferring them at once into full possession of political control, without training or education for the immense responsibilities of their new existence, and on the presumption that their former masters would cheerfully consent to the new régime. Such a revolution in social life and in all industrial and financial interests never yet took place without

suffering and strife. That no worse consequences have resulted is a wonderful triumph of American principles, and an equal proof of the general docility and tractableness of the race."

Dr. Eliot believed that things would gradually mend. "With increasing intelligence and education," he said, "the colored race will improve their condition. . . . New issues in local politics will arise and their influence will be sought. They represent the labor of the land, and this will gradually assert itself. . . . Above all, we must look to advancing education in the whole South for a permanent and full solution. . . . If the Constitution could be amended establishing an educated suffrage, we should have no reason to fear. In that direction our true safety should be found. . . . The subjection of the Southern States is not what we want, but their hearty concurrence in the great work of the nineteenth century, the permanent establishment of a grand republic in which freedom and law everywhere prevail. I think, therefore, that every good citizen who shares in these hopes should do his part, however humble and insignificant, to sustain the newly inaugurated President in the new policy which he has had the courageous wisdom to announce."

Hayes's policy of conciliation was much criticised; but, as Dr. Eliot prophesied, it eventually proved more effective than compulsion in the

restoration of peace and harmony. When, in 1879, there began that movement of industrious negroes northward to Kansas from the Southern States, the sense of insecurity and injustice which induced them to leave their homes in such large numbers was declared by some to be the practical result of Hayes's policy of conciliation which gave to the South untrammeled control of their own section, and left the negroes unprotected. Dr. Eliot thought such was not the case, except as it had proved that "neither force nor kindness could be relied on to protect them (the negroes) from harm."

Dr. Eliot had said of the blacks: "They represent the labor of the land, and this will gradually assert itself;" and to him General Sherman wrote: "The exodus of industrious negroes is a partial solution of the difficulty in the South. . . . It will force the local authorities to deal more justly and fairly by these poor people who labored several generations for their white masters, and who in the war guarded, protected, and maintained the families when all the able-bodied fathers and brothers were off fighting for their continued enslavement." To Rev. James Freeman Clarke Dr. Eliot wrote, under date of April 21st: "We have known something of this movement for years past, and have been doing something from time to time; but the exodus of this month takes us all by surprise. It is only in want of

Bible language to make it as imposing. . . . The course of President Hayes was right and wise; in fact there was no alternative. It was a Divine opportunity given to the South, as to Pharaoh of old, and they have failed to improve it. . . .

"The whole power of the nation cannot protect the negroes in the practical fruits of liberty where they are, against the will of the dominant race; and therefore if they have vigor and courage to take their salvation in their own hands by the providential path of seeking a promised land, both individuals and the nation at large must help them. I would not stimulate the exodus, . . . but we must provide for it."

In April, 1879, these colored emigrants were indeed arriving in large numbers in St. Louis, on their way to Kansas, a State which from its associations probably embodied to them the sentiment of freedom. While awaiting transportation, men, women, and children were crowded together in a small tenement building. The Western Sanitary Commission was still in existence, and Dr. Eliot and Mr. Yeatman felt that something must be done "for humanity's sake," although both agreed that the exodus should not be stimulated. A large building was fitted up wherein for several months from two hundred and fifty to three hundred colored emigrants each day received temporary shelter and some assistance. Funds for this purpose came entirely without solicitation, to

the amount of six thousand dollars. Among the contributors were many friends of Dr. Eliot in Boston who sympathized with the colored people thus endeavoring to escape from unendurable conditions.

Dr. Eliot had declared it to be his opinion that the cause of the exodus on the part of the blacks was "a growing intelligence, a better comprehension of their rights as freemen, an increased sensibility to familiar wrongs, and the hope of finding a free field of labor elsewhere." An agent was sent to Kansas by the Western Sanitary Commission, to obtain information concerning the condition of colored immigrants there, and their motives in leaving the South. The testimony obtained from the negroes themselves, and others, was published in pamphlet form. They were reported by the Kansas people to be honest, industrious, sober, and self-supporting. The majority were intelligent, and could read and write. According to their own testimony, the causes of their coming were "mistreatment and swindling." "If they objected to their treatment they were liable to be taken out at night, beaten and perhaps killed." Stories of "killings" were frequent. Some of these immigrants came from what the Southern papers termed "the bull-dozed regions," having lost their faith in the protection of the Constitution and laws. Many of them had been intimidated, most had become discouraged.

Gradually the exodus ceased, as an organized movement; for the South is the natural home of the colored race, which they only leave from compulsion or necessity.

At this period, 1879, Dr. Eliot was very much concerned regarding the situation of affairs in the South. The time was approaching for the nomination of a presidential candidate, and he felt that much depended upon the choice of the right man. To his mind the most available person was his friend, General William T. Sherman. To General Sherman he therefore wrote, asking him whether in the coming presidential contest, if it "came to be recognized as a political necessity," he would accept the nomination if thrust upon him, as in his, Dr. Eliot's, opinion it was an "exigency that might arise." Although he, Dr. Eliot, did not approve of a military ruler as President when a civilian could be found to fill that position, he believed that in the coming election there "must be a single issue, the same as in 1860: — Are we a nation or a confederacy? Is the United States or each State supreme? Is secession one of the reserved rights?" General Sherman, Dr. Eliot thought, would make this issue "clear and decisive," since his record had been one of "active conciliation." Dr. Eliot considered that Hayes had done well, but that his retirement was a foregone conclusion.

"The trial of the next five years," he wrote,

"will be very severe. The negro question is not settled. Loyalty is only a name in the South.... Quiet, firm control will hold or bring things right, and nothing else can. A party politician would ruin us, or a dough-face."

General Sherman's reply is so noteworthy and so characteristic of the man, that it is herewith inserted.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 3, 1879.

REV'D W. G. ELIOT,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI:

My dear Sir, — I cannot mistake the friendly and most honorable sentiment conveyed in your letter of July 31st, just received. The subject-matter has been so often broached to me, ever since I became notorious in the latter part of the Civil War, that my opinion and answer have become stale and stereotyped. The office of President of the United States has never had the least attraction to me. It was my fortune to be somewhat behind the curtain in Taylor's administration. I witnessed the fearful agonies and throes of that good and great man Lincoln, and saw General Grant, who never swerved in war, bend and twist and writhe under the appeals and intrigues from which there was no escape, so that I look upon the office as one beyond human endurance, each year being worse and worse. Man is mortal and human, and can no more withstand the appeals of charity, of distress, of family and friends as President than when in private life; and such seems the nature of our people, that the moment one's friends find him in an exalted position, then they cease all honest work and turn to him for honors and support. You may grant the ninety-nine, but refuse the hundredth you become a monster of ingratitude. I do not expect to live long, and will not disturb the

peace of the small remainder of my life by such hopes, fears, and disappointments. The country is full of men of average ability who seek the office. Our salvation and hope as a nation must depend on the system, not the goodness or badness of the agent. In Hayes's position I would likely do pretty much as he does, — certainly no better. The country is full of his equals, and I propose to leave the office to them. In no event, and under no combination of circumstances, will I allow the use of my name in that connection. Believing fully that time will accomplish all good things, I have little fear of the reaction of 1879, which is nearly expended, so that the pendulum is now going back.

Ever your friend,

W. T. Sherman.

In the summer of 1879 there were in St. Louis several meetings of the colored people to consider means of aiding the negro exodus. At one of these meetings there was read a letter from Frederick Douglass advising the negro to remain in the South, declaring that he would find his "ultimate advantage" where he had a monopoly of the labor, and would not be obliged, as in the North, to compete with foreigners. Time has vindicated the wisdom of Douglass's advice, which was then received with indignation by some of the colored people. In an article published in the October number of the "Atlantic Monthly," 1903, Booker T. Washington calls attention to the fact that in one year, out of a million emigrants, only a few thousands settled in the Southern States. Mr. Washington uses this as an argument in favor of

industrial training for the negro in the South, since that region is "largely free from the restrictive influence of the Northern trades unions," and "such organizations will secure little hold in the South so long as the negro keeps abreast in intelligence and skill with the same class of people elsewhere."

In 1863 Dr. Eliot declared in an address that "at the South the respectability of labor and the desirableness of popular education" had never been conceded, and made "no part of the social system, of what might justly be called the Southern civilization." At the close of the war, in 1865, he said: "Educated industrial classes are the living power which we want for our prosperity, and which for our safety we must have. If the South had had this, there would have been no rebellion; slavery itself could not have driven them to so great madness if the masses of the people had been reasonably well informed."

It is nearly forty years since these words were uttered. The public school system has been established in the South, and from growing intelligence has resulted increased respect for labor. At the present time the "educated industrial classes" are the hope of the new civilization of the South.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL REFORM

Wearied by the long strain of the Civil War period, and the labors incident to reorganization in the years immediately ensuing, Dr. Eliot was compelled to withdraw for a while from active duty, and in the spring of 1869 visited the Pacific coast. On his return in the fall he went abroad with his wife and younger children, and spent the winter in Rome. It was the last year of the temporal sovereignty of the Vatican, and was rendered more interesting by the meeting of the Ecumenical Council; but diversion and rest did not entirely accomplish for an overworked man all that he had hoped in the direction of physical recuperation. He returned to St. Louis in the early summer of 1870, and on the 1st of July recorded that he had written and copied his letter of resignation as pastor of the Church of the Messiah. Although never thereafter installed as minister of any parish, he was still devoted to his profession, and continued with unabated zeal his labors for the advancement of moral and social reform. In the interest of higher morality he had spoken from the pulpit for social purity and tem-

perance. He now addressed the public through the medium of the press, advocating practical measures of reform. On his return from abroad he learned that a law had been passed by the Missouri Legislature whereby the city of St. Louis was permitted to "regulate" the so-called social evil, which thus received the sanction of law embodied specifically in a city ordinance. The violation of moral principle involved immediately aroused Dr. Eliot, but as was usual with him, before opposing any measure, he waited until he had thoroughly investigated the subject before appealing to the public through the press. In the "St. Louis Democrat" of February 25, 1871, he protested against the further passage of laws which would commit St. Louis to a system that had failed everywhere else, until the community had been permitted to express its will after discussion and a full exposition of facts. Although declaring that he himself was not prepared to enter upon such discussion, he went so far as to state that a "Contagious Diseases Law" had been passed by the English Parliament of 1869, and that the effect produced upon the moral sense of the people by the promulgation of this edict had been intense. A general protest had arisen, especially from women. Both as a moral and a sanitary measure the law was likely to prove a failure. His own conclusion was that the "social evil," considered as a sin and crime,

should be treated like all other sins and crimes, to be "prohibited by law and prevented as far as possible by the conjoined action of legal and moral force." Faithfulness in this course would "reduce the evil to its narrowest limits." He believed also that any law enacted should include all offenders. Distasteful to him as was this subject, he continued to keep it before the public through the medium of the press. When in 1876, two years after the repeal of the obnoxious law in Missouri, an attempt was made in the New York Legislature to pass a similar enactment, there was published in the "New York Evening Express" under date of March 7th a letter from him, in which he appealed to the editors of the paper to oppose the law, for the reason that it would "do no good practically and infinite harm morally." From his knowledge of the working of the system in Paris, Berlin, and all the leading cities of Europe, he knew that it did not prevent the consequences of wrong-doing, while it increased the extent of the evil, lowered the standard of public morality, and brought into contempt the sacredness of the family relation. In this same letter is related the experience of St. Louis in the enactment, operation, and repeal of the social evil law which the Missouri Legislature had been "tricked into passing by the unobserved insertion of the word 'regulate' in the city charter." "When the subject was understood, this law was

repealed after four years' trial, by a vote in the Senate of three to one, and in the House of Representatives by a vote of ninety to one."

In the "Christian Illustrated Weekly" of April 8, 1876, was published an article stating that an attempt was making in the New York Legislature to introduce a bill licensing the social evil, that the experiment had been tried in St. Louis, and that Dr. T. M. Post of that city had been written to for information regarding results. In reply Dr. Post had referred the editors to Dr. Eliot, and thus written of him: "His work in securing the repeal of our law has been untiring and heroic, and his agency, more than that of any other individual, has been effective in accomplishing this result." A letter from Dr. Eliot was then published, wherein he reiterated with even added emphasis his former assertions regarding the evil effects of the license system, and its demoralizing influence upon the police, the agents for enforcing its provisions. The following editorial comment was made on this letter: "To repeat an experiment which the experience of the past has proved to be as disastrous to morals as it is dishonorable to Christian civilization, would be both a blunder and a crime. To put upon our own escutcheon a stain which Missouri has with much labor removed from her own, would be contrary alike to honor and to common sense. . . . If our legislature, in the face of this chapter

of experience, undertake to import the moral regimen of Paris into the cities of New York, they may rest assured that they will hear from the consciences of their own constituencies afterward, if they do not before."

Even as late as 1877 Dr. Eliot learned that a prominent member of the Missouri Legislature favored a reënactment of the social evil law, that he had declared that the plans for its renewal were already matured, and that it would be "sprung upon the community in such a manner as to preclude all opposition." Against any such clandestine attempt to reënact a law which had been repealed by an overwhelming majority, he openly protested in an argument published in the "Globe-Democrat" of January 27, 1877. He was also instrumental in thwarting the enactment of these same "regulation" laws in Chicago and Cleveland.

In 1876 Dr. Eliot had written: "From New York I hear that the social evil movement is defeated for the present, and this means permanently, for its only chance is to take people unawares. At Washington city the same effect is threatening, but will be headed off. . . .

"On the whole, that hardest of all my work has been the best. One city after another has been prevented from beginning the 'Regulation' by our repeal of it. Meanwhile in England and all over the continent of Europe moral sentiment

is awakening, and as true information spreads, the iniquity is unveiled, so that it will soon be impossible for such a barbarism to begin in America. To have secured such a result by two years' painful work is enough to reconcile me to any degree of failure in whatever other direction."

In June, 1877, the "regulation" system was again advocated by the grand jury in St. Louis, and Dr. Eliot, in the "Globe-Democrat" of June 29th, published a severe arraignment of the jury, in which he proved that the evils complained of by that body were due to other causes than the repeal of the social evil law. "I sincerely hope," he wrote in his letter, "that we shall not be compelled to go through another public discussion such as we had four years ago, the result of which was the repeal of the 'evil law;' but if the advocates of legalizing vice insist upon it, the friends of Christian morality and household purity must 'stand to their guns,' and fight every inch of the ground with such strength as God and a good cause may give them." As a marginal comment he wrote on a copy of this letter: "I am sorry to be again at this work, but the Devil shall not win if I can help it."

When in 1883 Cleveland proposed to "regulate the social evil," the ladies of that city held a mass meeting of remonstrance, and a letter addressed to them by Dr. Eliot was published. In his account of the two years' struggle for the

repeal of the law in St. Louis, he wrote that during that time "thousands of tracts were scattered through the State, and bushels of documents gathered from European cities," which statement gives some idea of his own labors for social purity. And yet these labors, if harassing and unpleasant, were compressed into a short period as compared with his lifelong advocacy of the temperance cause, maintained with increasing earnestness in his declining years. Only those who have themselves been engaged in such work are aware of the discouragements constantly encountered.

For years he hoped and labored for the enactment of restrictive or prohibitory legislation regulating the manufacture and sale of liquor, not only in Missouri but throughout the United States, and he corresponded with legislators on the subject. His hope lay not in the wealthy classes, nor in the ignorant and uneducated, but in the so-called "middle classes," who more quickly respond to such appeals. His experience among the poor early convinced him that intemperance is the principal cause of poverty and crime. In a "lay sermon" on "Temperance," published in 1882, he declared that there were three methods by which the temperance cause could be advanced. These were: total abstinence; personal influence upon others leading them to the same; and the advocacy of prohibitory or restrictive legislation. Of total abstinence he said: "It is the only assured course

of safety for ourselves and our families. I do not care how strong we may be; . . . we are not absolutely safe while the use of intoxicants as a beverage continues. I have seen all safeguards and barriers and resolutions and bonds give way, time and time again. I can show you graves which neither religion, nor morality, nor self-interest, nor self-respect, nor love of kindred, could prevent from being the drunkard's resting-place. I can show you this day men of intelligence, of good sense, of extended influence, of wealth, living in homes of refinement; in positions of trust and honor, on the bench, at the bar, in the command of armies, in the council chamber, . . . in the pulpit itself, . . . in the halls of Congress, in the National Cabinet, and in the Presidential Mansion — in all places of honor and usefulness have we seen men walking with unsteady steps, speaking with ill-considered words, and with all the marks of unmanliness that disgrace the foolish ones who put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains. And yet not one of them all but could remember the time when he was 'perfectly safe,' 'quite able to control himself.'"

As to the effect of personal influence upon others in advancing the cause of temperance, Dr. Eliot could well speak from experience. He had always labored persistently to reclaim any victim of the habit of drink who came within his

influence, either as a member of his congregation or otherwise. "My God!" he once exclaimed, "what an infatuation it is!" The following incident in the life of Henry Giles, a somewhat famous hunchback orator, author, and divine, is related by his biographer, Rev. A. J. Rich. It exemplifies Dr. Eliot's method of action in dealing with the tempted. On Mr. Giles's way to St. Louis, where he was to lecture at Dr. Eliot's instance, he stopped in Chicago, and was so well entertained by his friends that he appeared on the lecture platform in a state of undue exhilaration. The news traveled quickly to St. Louis. Saturday afternoon Mr. Giles appeared at the door of Mr. Eliot's study. His first words were: "Well, I am here. I suppose you have heard all about it." "Yes," said Mr. Eliot, taking his hand, "I am sorry to say that I have read all about my friend's trouble. I have weighed the matter too; but you are to lecture on Tuesday evening, and preach for me to-morrow." In a voice trembling with emotion, Mr. Giles replied: "Eliot, you have saved me. I will obey orders." "But," said his friend, "on this condition, that you are not to stop at the hotel. I have provided entertainment for you at a friend's house." Mr. Giles preached next day to a crowded church, and Dr. Eliot declared in his account of the sermon that he never heard from mortal lips such a prayer as under the influence of strong feeling

was uttered by the repentant man that morning in the pulpit of the Unitarian Church. Tuesday evening he lectured to a large audience, and this is the significant and gratifying fact — the influence thus exerted over a weak and tempted man was lasting. For over twenty years he continued to lecture all over the country, yet never again did he fall into the same error that had caused his downfall in Chicago.

In the "lay sermon" already considered, Dr. Eliot had appealed to the individual judgment and conscience, advising the practice of total abstinence, and the influencing others in the same direction. In a second "lay sermon," he discussed temperance legislation both as regarded the influence of law on the community, and the social and economic aspects of license and prohibition. His own desire was for prohibition and the closing of the saloon, and this he advocated with logic and fact; yet he was ready to welcome any measure that would restrict the sale of liquor as a beverage. In answer to the argument that men cannot be legislated into *morality*, he agreed that they must be elevated in character so as to control themselves, but that legislation had its rightful place in the work of reform. "The influence of law as an educator," he said, "is very great, and cannot be safely disregarded. . . . To a large class in every community, what is legal passes for right, or at least not blame-

worthy. . . . Let the sanction of law be withdrawn from the sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, let the drinking saloon thereby become an illegal instead of a licensed institution, and discredit would be thrown upon the habits of drinking. . . . A long step in the right direction would have been taken by putting the laws of morality and the laws of the land on the same side."

Dr. Eliot did not consider it right to expose young men to temptation and then hold them morally responsible for the evil result. "The dram-shops and saloons and pleasure gardens," he declared, "with all their allurements of studiously devised temptations, pressing on every side, night and day, week day and Sunday, create an atmosphere of contagion from which the healthiest can hardly escape. For those who have already acquired a taste for intoxicants or have inherited it, and for those who have no fixed moral or religious principles to fall back upon — that is to say, for the majority of hard-working men and half-educated young men — escape is next to impossible. . . . How much 'moral suasion' under such circumstances . . . will be needed to secure the safety of the tempted?"

In his treatment of the social and economic aspects of the liquor question, he appealed to statistics which he had gathered, endeavoring to show that the income derived in St. Louis from

the licensing of saloons defrayed but a very small portion of the expense to the city and community from the disorder, crime, sickness, and pauperism resulting from intemperance. In addition to the estimated immense sum expended for liquor annually in the city, amounting to ten times what was contributed for the support of all the public and private schools, several millions of internal revenue tax went out of the State each year. Regarding the legality of the restriction or prohibition of the sale of liquor, he maintained that by the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri such sale was not a right, but a privilege, which could be restricted or prohibited.

In 1882 Dr. Eliot published in pamphlet form the two "lay sermons" on temperance, and sent a large number of copies to prominent individuals, hoping for aid and encouragement in effecting the desired legislation. Apparently no immediate or important result followed. A prominent church dignitary, from whom he had expected aid, excused himself from coöperation and wrote: "The facts in your appeal are very startling, but the difficulty is in applying a remedy." This gentleman expressed the opinion that efforts should be made to enforce the present laws, but this was already a part of Dr. Eliot's work. An unlicensed saloon was operated on the same block on which stood one of the Washington University

buildings, and he brought suit against the proprietors. Unfortunately there is no strong public sentiment against selling liquor without a license, the cry of persecution is easily raised, and juries fail to convict. This was the result of the prosecution referred to, although Dr. Eliot tried every available legal remedy. Eventually a license was secured by erecting a tenement building on ground adjacent to the saloon, and filling it with "householders," who made a majority of persons resident on the block in its favor. Thus easily was the true spirit and meaning of the law evaded. Dr. Eliot expected much from the exercise of the franchise by women, believing as he did that in municipal elections they would vote against the saloon.

Whether in jest or earnest, it was at one time suggested that Dr. Eliot should be appointed a police commissioner of St. Louis. This called forth, in one of the daily papers, the following humorous editorial comment, which is an index of his reputation as an energetic reformer: —

"Dr. Eliot may not desire to be police commissioner, and the suggestion of his name may be meant as a joke, but we sincerely wish the joke to become a reality. Forty-eight hours after Dr. Eliot assumed the reins of the police department there would be no gambling houses in St. Louis. Dr. Eliot would be no joke in the police board, but a sensible, strong reality.

Governor Phelps could do no better thing than to appoint him."

There exists in manuscript form, as written by Dr. Eliot, an "Appeal" addressed to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Missouri, asking that prohibition, as a constitutional amendment, be submitted to the vote of the people at the next general election. This petition, written toward the close of his life, was probably never forwarded. His views regarding the evils of intemperance had been confirmed by large personal experience. "I am pleading," he declared in the second of his "lay sermons," "as in a case of life and death, and with all the earnestness of which I am capable; for the facts, the social unwritten statistics of intemperance, as they have directly come before me, in an active life of full fifty years, justify me in so doing."

To women Dr. Eliot believed in giving the largest opportunities of education and usefulness. In an address delivered in 1871 on "Woman's Future in America and the Education needed to prepare her for it," he especially emphasized the desirability of a sound practical education carried to the highest practical point. This he considered equally necessary for woman in her natural or providential sphere of the home; in her important work as an educator of the young; in her social and political relations in America; and

in the special work confined to a few. He was naturally conservative, and believed that the great majority of women would prefer to remain in "the quiet discharge of household duties," but that there was a large field of educational work in which they excelled, and it was of the utmost importance they should be fitted for the proper performance of its requirements. To the few fitted for and desiring special work, special opportunities for preparation should be given.

In considering the question of woman's social and political relations in America, he asked: "Shall woman be included in the republican idea as having the full rights of equal citizenship?" and answered the question in the affirmative. He believed that the "logic of republicanism, inevitable and irresistible, would solve the problem as it had the problem of universal suffrage and of the freedom of the slave," and that woman should have *power*, the only principle which society permanently respects, rather than merely the protection which had always been vouchsafed her. He did not regard the extension of suffrage to women as a privilege or concession of a right, but as a duty to be imposed. There was no cause for surprise that women did not wish for it as if it were an enjoyment or a luxury, since few intelligent men so regarded it. Those only desire it who see its

great uses, and women must vote as men do, to discharge a moral and social responsibility from which they could not escape when once the right to vote was given them. As a preparation for these extended rights of citizenship which should be conferred upon women, he advocated more of a common-sense practical business education than heretofore, that they might learn to take care of their own property and have a better understanding of the new responsibilities imposed. For both men and women, as necessary to the exercise of the franchise, he would have preferred an educational qualification. In his early residence in Missouri he had considered such restriction of suffrage as a reform to be effected, but concluded it would be impossible to obtain the necessary legislation.

Of legislative measures Dr. Eliot was always a close observer, especially in the interest of the weaker classes, whom he consistently strove to benefit and protect. In 1875 there was introduced into the Missouri Legislature an amendment to a leasing contract made by the State two years previously with certain lessees of the labor of the Jefferson City penitentiary. By this amendment, the lessees were authorized to work gangs of convicts in any part of the State where they could find employment for them, within a mile of any city or town, provided the sanction of the local authorities could be obtained.

This measure was opposed by Senator James J. McGinniss, who made a minority report on conditions in the penitentiary, incidentally showing that under the leasing system the convicts had not been properly fed and clothed, and insubordination had resulted.

To Mr. McGinniss Dr. Eliot, then vice-president of the National Prison Association, addressed an open letter on the "Leasing System," which was published in the "St. Louis Globe" of February 25, 1875. In this letter he stated that he had made prison discipline a careful study since he left college in 1830, forty-five years previously; that for many years he spent several hours each week with prisoners in jails and prisons, and that at one time he "knew quite as much of human nature inside the walls as outside." He had also kept himself familiar with the various plans and systems both in this country and Europe. The treatment of the guilty he declared to be the "one grand problem of society," and that when it was successfully solved the "greatest triumph of civilization would have been gained."

Dr. Eliot regarded the leasing system as the worst of all systems in vogue among civilized nations, if the real objects of prison discipline and penal jurisprudence are taken into consideration. These objects are the protection of society and the reformation of the criminal; and although

the latter object is secondary, it is the most effective and the only permanently effectual means for the attainment of the former. The lessee has no interest in the reformation of the criminal, his principal or only object being to make money through a "stern and hard system of compulsory labor, in which brute force is the only acknowledged master." Dr. Eliot thought that even the most degraded convicts resented being sold or leased out as if they were cattle to men whose chief aim was to make money out of their misfortunes or crimes. He considered that the true secret of prison discipline was to treat the prisoners like human beings, and while imposing strict disciplinary rules, to observe justice and to govern them by the same motives which appeal to other men. As a result of such treatment the influence of prison life would be greatly improved, and men would no longer leave the prison "full of vindictive hatred, morally and intellectually educated for new and greater crimes." He agreed with modern reformers, that convicts should be rewarded for diligence and good behavior by giving them some of the fruits of their earnings. He expressed the opinion that "the average of personal character in the prison is not so much below that of the surrounding world as generally supposed," and with a fair chance a large part of the convicts could be reclaimed.

He sent a copy of this article with an accompanying letter to Governor Hardin. The "Amendment" passed the Missouri Legislature by a large majority, but was fortunately vetoed by the governor, on the ground that it was "contrary to public sense, cruel and inhuman to the convicts," and for other reasons.

Dr. Eliot felt very deeply the responsibility of the higher classes of society towards the lower. In reporting in 1865 the wretched condition of the prison system of St. Louis, he thus closed his report: "Of one thing be sure. God does not forget those who are 'sick and in prison,' and the laws of social life will not be repealed in our behalf. These lower depths of crime and suffering may seem too far down for our selfish humanity to reach. We may flatter ourselves that it is none of our concern, but we cannot so wash our hands of it. . . . The lowest stratum of society affects the one immediately above it, and the influence is carried up to the top. Let the mouth of the common sewers become choked two miles from your pleasant homes, and the polluted air is secretly diffused and the evil extends itself until the pale cheeks and failing breath of your own dear children prove the presence of a poisoned atmosphere for which you cannot account. And so does the moral poison become diffused, working its way upward through unobserved channels, by all the diversified relations of social life,

until our own homes feel the contagion, and our young men are stricken down. Every passing day gives proof of it.

"The frightful increase of crime fills our hearts with sadness, and we tremble for the future. The community is thoroughly awake to the material interests of commerce, manufactures, and trade; let it also awaken to the social and moral interests upon which all real prosperity depends. The prevention of evil belongs to our firesides and schools. The work of reformation — to raise the fallen, to redeem the lost — is more difficult and less attractive, but for our own social salvation it must be done. Let us take hold of it, at whatever cost, with a vigorous hand."

For the prevention of pauperism and crime, Dr. Eliot advocated not only temperance measures, but education, which must be compulsory if rendered necessary by the indifference or negligence of parents, — and also the cultivation of habits of industry. He always deprecated the giving of relief to able-bodied men and women without some equivalent in services rendered, believing that such aid was permanently demoralizing. This principle was not as universally recognized in his day as at present.

Dr. Eliot was interested in all measures for material as well as moral improvement in the community. In 1871 he urged through the press the building of the new Merchants' Exchange,

and when the building was completed he was present at the dedication exercises and made the opening prayer. He performed the same office at the meeting of the Southern Pacific Railroad Convention in 1875, ten years after the close of the Civil War. On this occasion there were seated on the platform the quasi ex-President Jefferson Davis, General Joseph Johnston, and General P. T. Beauregard, with General Sherman and many other distinguished men. In his prayer Dr. Eliot said: "Almighty and most merciful God, . . . we have come here in the interest of peace and of national union. Wilt thou guide our minds to wisdom of counsel; wilt thou fill our hearts with fairness and with justice, and with brotherly love. May there be no place for discord, may no angry word be spoken. May we leave behind us narrow selfishness and sectional feeling, remembering that we are here as citizens of the same great country to work together for our common good. O God, wilt thou bind us together more and more closely, not only by the bonds of iron, but by the bonds of fraternal love. Thou hast taught us by thy Word that we are members one of another. By sore experience we have learned that one member cannot suffer without any suffering with it. We can neither suffer nor rejoice alone. Wilt thou therefore teach us to live according to the great law of Christian rectitude, not only individually, but as represent-

ing different communities and cities. . . . We pray for thy blessing upon our beloved country which thou hast so greatly distinguished. May this people become free indeed by escaping from the bondage of sin, by escaping from the wickedness of strife, and to thy name be the glory and the praise forever through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In November, 1884, on the completion of his fifty years of residence in St. Louis, a letter signed by Wayman Crow and thirty-three other gentlemen was addressed to Dr. Eliot, tendering him a public reception in honor of his "very early interest in the moral and intellectual progress of the city during its formative period, an interest constantly and uninterruptedly maintained," and manifested by "earnest, constant, active personal identification and assistance," which had been "a widespread, beneficent, and permanent influence." To quote from the letter: "That influence has been in this city as broad as humanity itself, and has always tended to the placing of the religious, moral, and social life of the city upon a higher plane. . . . We recognize in it a conspicuous example of the power which may be exerted by the individual in civic life, and of what may be accomplished in one generation by steady and persistent effort in the pursuit of honorable purposes consecrated by Christian faith."

While deeply appreciative of the regard which

had prompted the suggestion contained in this communication, Dr. Eliot felt compelled to decline the proffered compliment, stating that he did so "from a clear sense of duty." He once wrote: "I hear men complain that public service is not paid for even in thanks. The balance is always the other way. Every man receives more than he gives. Every man is a debtor to all men." And on this occasion in his letter of acknowledgment he wrote: "In my judgment the best citizen, who devotes himself most earnestly to the public service, receives from the community he serves far more than he can give." He also declared that in much that he had done or attempted to do he had simply been the agent of generous men who had hidden themselves in their work, and to whom the praise of his seeming success really belonged. Much of "the work intrusted" to him was still "incomplete."

He had indeed been the agent of generous men, to whom a later generation owes a debt of gratitude. They responded to his appeals and sustained him in every movement for the public good. Their aid had been freely given because of their faith in the wisdom of his undertakings. "Dr. Eliot's executive power was rare," said his friend Dr. John Heywood, "but still greater and rarer was his power to inspire and energize. He could breathe life into an organized body. The spirit of the living creature must be as the pro-

phet tells us and experience shows, 'in the wheels also;' and to inbreathe that spirit is, under God, the All-inspirer, the prerogative and function of consecrated genius. Dr. Eliot had the genius for work, noble, humane, divine work. He had extraordinary power of will, and that will was surrendered reverently and unreservedly to the will of God. Hence his marvelous capacity of work and his power of inspiring others to work."

Dr. Heywood believed that action and thought were not incompatible, and objected to the dictum, "A man of action rather than of thought, a doer rather than a thinker," as applied to Dr. Eliot. "A very fine thinker," he said, "was Dr. Eliot; able to grasp and solve profound problems, and who, if he had made literature his profession, would have stood high on its rolls. Merchants of St. Louis, recognizing the sagacity, foresight, and broad wisdom which led them not infrequently to seek and accept Dr. Eliot's advice, were wont to say that had he given himself to mercantile affairs he would have become one of the first merchants of the land. . . . The ministry was his vocation — no avocation for the occupancy of leisure hours, but his vocation to which, under his dominating ideas of stewardship and consecration, he gave himself unreservedly, putting his thoughts into earnest sermons, into noble characters, into grand institutions. And what elaborate volumes give better or finer

expressions of broad and profound thought, than great institutions coming into being at the call of a far-seeing, deep-thinking mind, and remaining a perpetual memorial of the creative thinker."

CHAPTER XIII

SERMONS AND OTHER WRITINGS

When in 1834 William Eliot left the older settlements of the East to make his future home in the West, he was conscious that for a time at least he, like other pioneers, must leave behind him the world of books and intellectual pursuits. This deprivation he accepted as one of the needful sacrifices of his vocation. That there were times, especially in the early years of his ministry in St. Louis, when he felt it very deeply, is evident from his letters to his friend Rev. James Freeman Clarke. In 1836 he wrote to Mr. Clarke, then visiting Boston, requesting him to procure for him a copy of "Sartor Resartus," of which he had read a review, and of Wordsworth's works including "Yarrow Revisited," declaring that he must have those books whatever they cost, especially Wordsworth, for which his soul had "pined all the year."

When James Freeman Clarke started in Louisville a Western Unitarian periodical, of which he was editor, Mr. Eliot was very desirous of assisting his friend both by contributing articles to the magazine and obtaining subscribers. The

former task he found difficult. "I shall get a good many subscribers at Alton," he wrote, "but this soliciting marrow from a shriveled brain makes my heart ache to think of it. However, we must put on courage and strength and do our best." In a succeeding letter Mr. Eliot inclosed a cheque for fifty dollars with a list of names, informing Mr. Clarke in a postscript that the same fifty dollars was a wedding fee for which he rode thirty miles.

After leaving the divinity school and entering upon the active work of the ministry, with, as he said, "a life broken into fragments by the cares and occupations unavoidable in a new community during the revolutionary days of progress," William Eliot had little time for intellectual pursuits apart from practical objects. His record of accomplishment lies more in what he planned and executed than in his written works, which are necessarily few in number. Most of the books published by him were compilations of sermons or lectures. Such was his "Doctrines of Christianity" issued by the American Unitarian Association, with the statement that they were "short, simple, clear expositions of Christian doctrine, breathing a spirit of enlarged charity and devout reverence for the Sacred Scriptures." This book had a large circulation. The "Lectures to Young Men" and the "Lectures to Young Women" had been delivered as evening discourses in the Church

of the Messiah to crowded audiences in the winter of 1852–53. The latter work was altered and revised by Dr. Eliot, and republished under the title of "Home Life and Influence" in 1880. The writing of this book was to him a labor of love. Although an advocate of the higher education of women, he attached especial importance to their "home life and influence." "I well remember," said a Mary Institute graduate, "that Dr. Eliot, in addressing the pupils of the school, once told us that we must remember we came to 'the Mary' for three purposes. These were, first, the formation of womanly character; secondly, the acquirement of ladylike deportment; and thirdly, intellectual improvement." "We were all much impressed by the Doctor's remarks," continued the young lady, "because he placed womanly character and ladylike deportment before intellectual improvement."

The little book entitled "The Discipline of Sorrow" was written and published in 1855, a few months after the death of Dr. Eliot's eldest daughter Mary, to whom he was tenderly attached. Owing to the lack of school facilities in St. Louis at that time, Mary Eliot had been her father's pupil and companion, spending several hours every day in his study with her books. Reticent as he was in the expression of his deepest personal emotions, in "The Discipline of Sorrow" Dr. Eliot voiced a grief "common to all

who mourn." In the preface of this book he expressed the hope that those "upon whom the heavier burden had been laid," and who did not seek "diversion from grief, but the power of Christian endurance," would recognize in his words their own individual experience, and be assisted in obtaining the strength they personally needed. The best preparation for sorrow Dr. Eliot found in a life of purity and Christian faith, devoted to the performance of duty; the compensation of its discipline in perfected human nature and enlarged spiritual life.

Dr. Eliot's sermons were earnest and impressive, and characterized by simplicity of diction. Regarding Christ as the exemplar of the perfect life, he made him and his teachings the subject of frequent discourse. His tone and manner added impressiveness to the message he delivered. One of his oldest and warmest personal friends thus wrote after Dr. Eliot's death of his preaching: "As a teacher, — a moral and religious teacher, — who, addressing himself to his congregation, warns them of the sins that most easily beset them, and admonishes them of the sacred obligations of duty in any crisis, he was of almost unexampled power. His earnest words went to the hearts of his hearers, for they carried the conviction of his own sincerity, and were enforced by the most lofty morality. He was eminently distinguished by practical common sense, and

believing as he did that it never was, never could be, expedient to palter with conscience, he seldom failed to command the assent of those whom he addressed. . . . In the pulpit he sought to convince and persuade, but he never attempted — I should say never descended to, an oratorical flight in aid of a demonstration of moral duty. For awakening the attention of the careless, for rousing the conscience of the selfish, and for teaching all the supreme obligations of duty, he had few equals. But it was the daily beauty of his life which chiefly influenced those to whom he spoke."

Dr. Heywood very truly said of Dr. Eliot that his mind was quick to discern and firm to hold essential fundamental principles. In all his writings the presence of this underlying basis of principle and conviction is manifest, and in his sermons vital truths are reiterated and enforced in their varied application. Conservative he was, by nature and training, as might be expected of one educated under the influence of Channing and other apostles of the Unitarian denomination; yet his conservatism was based on reverent faith, and bore no relation to dogmatism. His mind was constructive rather than destructive, cherishing all that was sacred and memorable in the past, as a priceless legacy, a repository of truth, even though commingled with error. In his student days he was devoted to metaphysical studies, and

never underestimated the value of speculative thought, for which, to his regret, he had later little time. Like Martineau, for whom personally, and for whose "conservative radicalism" as he termed it, he had great respect, he deemed impossible any conflict between scientific and religious truth, and, as already stated, desired for Washington University the motto, "Truth for truth's sake," "Veritas pro veritate." Of Martineau he said: "He has the essence and strength of the most steadfast faith, the freedom of the largest philosophy." Martineau led the philosophic religious thought of his day, preaching to a choice audience of the thoughtful and learned, and could teach abstract spiritual truth, to which, in an active ministry, it behooved Dr. Eliot to give concrete expression through the life and example of Christ.

When in 1870, after a continued pastorate of thirty-six years, Dr. Eliot retired from the pulpit of the Church of the Messiah, it was because he realized that his strength was no longer adequate to its duties. Although he did not leave the Christian ministry, he regarded with keen regret his retirement from its active work, and apparently ever afterwards felt that something was gone from his life. In the draft of an anniversary sermon prepared for the meeting of the National Unitarian Association in 1870 appears a statement afterwards suppressed in the copy,

which indicates his state of mind at that time. He wrote: "I am here not even as the pastor of a church, for by my own act that relation has ceased, and the pulpit of the Church of the Messiah in St. Louis is waiting for an occupant. I say it with feelings of profoundest regret, for the work had become too great for me to do, and stronger and abler men must have place to do it. But in laying down that office held through thirty-six years of earnest endeavor, under circumstances of difficulty and trial which few men know, I have taken up a cross the weight of which was greater than I had thought, and my heart fails within me to bear it. Dearer to me than life itself is the precious ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ. Most sacred of all commands is his word, 'Feed my sheep.' Higher than all worldly honor is the privilege of speaking in Christ's stead, persuading men to be reconciled to God. Only for a season therefore, and under providential necessity, have I left the work, and in some humbler way shall hope to resume it again."

In a sermon on "The Inspiration and Work of the Christian Ministry," published ten years later, in 1880, Dr. Eliot presented a very high ideal of a minister's vocation. Taking as his theme the conversion of Saul, he asserted that a like inspiration to that received by him, filling the heart with a pervading and controlling

purpose of self-consecration for truth and goodness, was still needful, and without it the most eloquent preaching of the most stately pulpit was of little effect. Dr. Eliot attributed the conversion of Saul to the memory of the "patience and sublime courage" of the martyred Stephen, the recollection arousing his conscience until "the divine elements of his nature overcame the selfish and carnal." Such a change need not be, usually *is* not, sudden or violent.

Skepticism and agnosticism, Dr. Eliot thought, had no place in the pulpit, since faith in the living and ever-present God, in the human soul and its personal immortality, in universal brotherhood, in the infinite difference between right and wrong, "in a word, faith in Christian truth, which embraces all spiritual truth, from whatever source it may come, and in the life of Jesus as the embodiment of the truths he taught, . . . this faith . . . is the needful inspiration of the gospel ministry."

Of such faith, Dr. Eliot declared, "the direct and necessary consequence" was self-consecration to the work given to the minister to do. "Self-consecration, the grandest word in the English language," he exclaimed, "the key to all heroism, the first condition of all great attainment whether in art or knowledge or philanthropy or spiritual life; leading to self-denial and self-sacrifice, but carrying us far beyond them by making

the will of God our will." Self-consecration was always an essential principle in Dr. Eliot's creed, and he inculcated it by precept and example.

In answer to the question, "How shall the gospel be declared?" Dr. Eliot indicated three methods: "By direct precept, whatever can make the beauty and excellence of Christ's life and his doctrines known; by regard for the institutions of Christianity; by lives of righteousness, purity, self-denial, and active usefulness."

Christ's life and teachings were, we know, a frequent subject of discourse with Dr. Eliot. To the institutions of Christianity, baptism and the Lord's Supper, he attached especial importance, not "from superstitious regard," but as a "symbol of faith," the "time-honored bond of Christian brotherhood." His manner on such occasions was unusually impressive and reverential, as if he were conscious of the divine presence. He considered the communion table the centre of the religious life of a church.

Above all else, Dr. Eliot regarded the righteous life of the minister as the most potent influence for good among his people. "This is the great power," he said, "the irresistible argument for the truth as it is in Jesus. . . . Even in the Great Teacher himself, this is the chief power of persuasion, the source of abiding authority. The Christian religion would have died out long ago, under the load of corruptions and abuses,

if the life of Jesus had not been its continued salvation."

Believing as he did in the power of spiritual truth as manifested in the life and character, and in the infinite value of exalted personality, Dr. Eliot always declared the importance of personal allegiance to Christ, and this doctrine he asserted with increasing emphasis as a judgment strengthened by experience. In a sermon on "The Christian Faith and Life," he said: "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God, is everywhere and always a sure passport to his favor, whether in Christian or heathen lands. But . . . here in Christendom, where the Christian religion is the recognized standard of moral civilization, and open and avowed allegiance to Jesus Christ as guide, teacher, and spiritual redeemer is the wise and rational course, no great moral movement, no spiritual organization, certainly no Christian church, can be successfully maintained without a recognized leader, a spiritual authority, to whom there is the highest appeal. If the time ever comes for such authority to be superseded, it must be only because a higher and better light comes in. A new leader, a more glorious redeemer, must first appear, to whom the transferred allegiance may be given. But always, on the common principles of human nature, it is to a personal guide, a living redeemer, that we must look. Abstractions, however pure and

glorious, do not comfort, do not strengthen the desponding soul, do not save from besetting sins. The counsel of a trusted friend who speaks from experience and transfers to us the consolations and strength of his own heart is better than them all."

In Martineau's Introduction to Taylor's "Retrospect of the Religious Life of England," he lays the same emphasis on the power of a lofty personality to embody and vitalize the truths of morality and religion, which, thereafter no longer "logical and abstract," appeal to the mass of mankind with greater force after they have "come through human life." He also says: "There are many Unitarians . . . who expect no help in their approach to God and ascent to higher duty, except through the hierarchy of greater and holier minds, but who see in Jesus Christ the supreme term in that hierarchy."

A series of four sermons by Dr. Eliot, delivered in 1864–65, was published in pamphlet form, under the title of "Christ's Record of Himself, an Expression of Faith in the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Dr. Eliot, in 1882, had this pamphlet reprinted from the first edition, "as a renewed expression of that Faith in Jesus Christ and his Gospel" by which he had been "measurably sustained in the duties and trials of a life already prolonged beyond the assigned limits of threescore years and ten." They were written for those "whose hearts

yearned" for a Saviour who could "show them the Father," and relieve them from the conflict of doubt and ignorance by assured words of conscious spiritual nearness to God. These sermons were written in confirmation of the "divine mission" of Christ, Dr. Eliot declaring this to be "the great religious question" of the day, and also asserting that there was a wider and more important difference "between the rejection of Christ's spiritual authority and its admission, than between any two believers in him who differ only as to the degree of his exaltation; since when the authority of Christ is admitted, his commands and doctrines rest upon the divine sanction with sufficient certainty, whatever be the opinion concerning his nature." Accepting his "record of himself," Dr. Eliot maintained that Christ claimed a degree of dignity, authority, and power such as no one else in all the records of history has ever claimed; and secondly, that he distinctly declared the fact of limitation and his own entire dependence upon God.

In a sermon on "Christ and Liberty," delivered at the National Unitarian Conference in 1870, Dr. Eliot renewed his assertion of faith in the spiritual authority of Christ, and expressed his sense of the value of Christian obedience. He said: "The teaching of Jesus Christ is the truth of God, and his commands are the law of God, and our spiritual freedom is then most per-

fectly attained when we have most fully received his truth and law into our hearts."

Although Dr. Eliot did not claim for Christianity a monopoly of spiritual truth, he believed that most men, like himself, felt the need of a "guide and saviour." "There are two conceivable ways," he said, "by which men may come to the knowledge of the highest spiritual truth, and to a perfect system of morality. One may be called, for distinction, the rational or philosophical; the other is the faith of Christian obedience. By the former a few persons of studious minds, and with opportunity for self-scrutiny and metaphysical thought, may rise from step to step, seeking after God if haply they may find Him, until at last they come to the highest that man can know, and find it to be the same which Jesus taught to the Samaritan woman eighteen hundred years ago: 'God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth;' or, in seeking to attain the perfect ideal of human virtue, we determine to live every day up to our highest convictions of duty, to do no wrong, to indulge no impure thought, to have no selfish motive, to make the best of every faculty and control every tendency of evil. Slowly and painfully we struggle upwards, with many doubts and fears, questioning of the way and with uncertain aim, until, having labored long and hard, we come, perhaps, to one who 'opens the Scriptures' and shows us, in

Christ's example and the gospel system of morality, the rule by which we have unwittingly been striving to live."

"To the vast majority of men, and to the young universally, the plainer path of Christian obedience is the safer way. Others must judge for themselves; but for myself I am ready to avow my need of a guide and saviour by voluntary and hearty submission to Jesus Christ. We are not humbled, but exalted, not brought under a law of bondage, but under the law of liberty, which is perfect freedom."

If a man so well poised as Dr. Eliot could be said to have a "ruling passion," it was surely the love of doing good. From early youth until the close of life he was devoted to the service of humanity, recognizing in mankind that common bond of fellowship which Christianity emphasizes. As the "Son of man" who had borne the sorrows and "carried the griefs" of mankind, he reverenced Christ and regarded him with peculiar affection.

In a sermon from the text, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," Dr. Eliot declared that "the *least* of these my brethren" might be the lowest and most degraded of the human race, but were not for that reason removed from the sympathy of Christ nor should be from that of his followers. "This," he said, "is the

new theory of religion. It is the divinely revealed rule of worship. It is the new and acceptable service of God. It is the final test of Christian discipleship. It is the practical platform of the broad Christian church."

Dr. Eliot thus continued: "He who recognizes in every human being the presence of the Son of man, the glorified divine humanity which constitutes every immortal soul, however scarred and stained, the child of God; . . . he who can look through all the incrustations of sin, and with the Christian's eye of faith discern there, in the centre of the world-corrupted heart, the holy child Jesus, the divine seed of spiritual life which will surely find its development and growth to manhood in the ages of eternity; he who thus reads human nature in the mystery of its degradation, and treats it with reverent tenderness because it is allied to him who by his sinless glory is the incarnation of the invisible God, is the one who best understands the gospel of Jesus Christ. . . .

"We puzzle ourselves about the nature of Christ, and how he stands related to God; but the more important thing for us to know is, how he is related to man, and wherein his glory as the Son of man consists; for by understanding this we partake of it, and shall discern it, or seek for it, in every human being.

"We are weary of the discussions about Christian worship and creeds. What place in the God-

head does Jesus hold? . . . As if he cared about that! As if the highest terms of praise and adoration were anything but mockery and contempt, when spoken by those who refuse to give him food and shelter and kindly sympathy by refusing to give them to 'these his brethren.'

"We leave Jesus the Son of man to suffer the pains of cold, and hunger, and loneliness, while we are bitterly disputing how we may acceptably worship Jesus the Son of God.

"We would only go back to Jesus Christ and him crucified; the Christ of self-denial, the Christ of self-sacrifice, the Christ of humanity and love. From him we will not go."

In the largest work of philanthropy, not less than in the best development of religious thought, we believe that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Dr. Eliot always inculcated the highest morality. Though charitable to the offender, he was always earnest and impassioned in his denunciation of sin. "The most serious of all subjects," he wrote, "is sin. It should never be spoken of lightly. By all the happiness it destroys, by all the misery it produces, by the glorious inheritance of which it deprives us, by the brutal debasement to which it brings us down, I conjure you never to think lightly of sin. It is our worst enemy; let us so regard it. Nay, it is our only enemy. All other enemies can be converted into friends,

but this — never. Only by absolute, unconditional resistance can we find peace here or hereafter."

Of the sins of omission he wrote: "What right have we to think that the opportunity of to-day will be renewed to-morrow? To-day victory is offered, the enemy is unprepared, the way is open. To-morrow, forewarned, he is armed and ready; the way is closed, and instead of victory, defeat. Opportunity is offered to every one; he who knows how promptly to improve it is the most successful man. While we hesitate to strike, the iron cools, and then no vigor of striking will do. It is sin, this loss of opportunity, this presuming on to-morrow. A little more sleep, a little more slumber, a little more folding of the hands in sleep; so shall poverty come upon thee like an armed man."

Among sins of omission, Dr. Eliot especially included neglect of the lowly. When in 1865, after the Civil War, he visited the prisons of St. Louis County, which were then in wretched condition, he published a statement addressed to his fellow-citizens, wherein, after giving the results of his careful inspection of the jails, he urged reform as a Christian obligation, maintaining that "sins of omission were sometimes as heinous as crimes of the worst barbarity."

Although when called upon to speak without preparation Dr. Eliot's speech was always appropriate and felicitous, his sermons were usually

written beforehand, or he preached from full notes. Whenever he spoke extemporaneously, so logical was his reasoning, so convincing his argument, that the discourse bore the stamp of careful preparation. As an instance of his readiness in such unpremeditated utterance, his friend Rev. John H. Heywood relates how on the 10th of April, 1841, Dr. Eliot went to Louisville to preach. The news of the death of President Harrison had just reached that then distant outpost. There was no time to write the sermon which the importance of the event demanded, and so with no opportunity for preparation Dr. Eliot entered the pulpit and preached a sermon, which was, Dr. Heywood declared, "plain and unpretentious, but so admirable in arrangement, so clear in statement, so exact in analysis, so fairly and finely appreciative of the late President's life and character, so justly interpreting the moral and spiritual lessons taught by the event, that the mind of every hearer was held in closest, deepest attention."

Prayer Dr. Eliot regarded as the sublimest expression of religious feeling of which the human soul is capable. To Dr. Clarke, evidently in response to some remark from him, he wrote: "You cannot pray! It is strange — very strange — that when the mind is so exhausted that it cannot think one sentence, it should be unable to engage in the most powerful exercise of which it is capable. . . . When I came from Peoria two

weeks since I was fresh. 'I will pray earnestly every day,' but I cannot. I could 'say prayers,' but that I will not. For a few minutes daily I pray, and for the rest I try to live and think and feel in the spirit of prayer. It is the highest effort of the whole mind; to realize the Presence — to feel the Love — to trust implicitly, yet not idly, in God. I am perhaps too lenient to myself, but I will no longer harass myself because my soul will not work in the traces which Richard Baxter wore. He was a good man and prayed by the hour. I will be a good man by God's help, and pray as much as I can."

For a very few special occasions Dr. Eliot wrote prayers, of which several exist in manuscript form. One of these, written under the strain of a great sorrow, is given for the sake of other parents who have suffered the loss of children. On the 20th of February, 1865, Dr. Eliot's daughter Ada, a young girl then sixteen years of age, was drowned while skating with two companions, only children of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Salisbury. The first shock of the news of this terrible event completely overwhelmed Dr. Eliot, but he soon recovered himself. Mindful of his duty as a pastor, and sympathizing with the parents who were more completely bereaved than himself, he attended the funeral of the Salisbury children, and from the depths of his own sorrow thus addressed the mourners present: "You who are parents know

full well that there is no strength, no hope, no consolation except in God. Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. It is *given* to us ; we do not accomplish it. We can fight the good fight, we can keep the faith. But the victory over death and the grave is given to us by God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. They cannot return to us, but we shall go to them. All of them are together now, dear friends, the children whom God gave to you. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away ; blessed be the name of the Lord.' Even Jesus prayed, 'Let this cup pass from me.' May God help us also to say, 'Thy will be done.'

"And to you who are young and full of life and hope as they were, I entreat you to be also as pure and religious and good. They always lived near to God and to his holy child, Jesus. They had given their hearts to him who died for them. They were with him here on earth, they are with him now in heaven. You cannot secure length of life, but by God's help you may secure its blessedness. You may consecrate your hearts, your lives, your all, in the Christian service, as those who have been taken from us have done."

On the following day, at the funeral service of his own daughter, Dr. Eliot prayed : —

"Almighty and most merciful God, who has taught us to call thee our Father, we thank thee

for this, that as a Father pitieth his children, so thou dost pity us. Most sorely do we feel the need of a Father's sympathy and love. Our hearts are bruised, they are broken; but the broken and contrite heart thou wilt not despise.

"We try to say it: 'Thy will, not ours, be done.' We struggle with ourselves, with groanings not to be uttered. The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. Thou knowest our weakness. Thou rememberest we are dust. Have pity upon us, God our Father! Out of the depths of sorrow we cry out to thee, the Living God. Give us strength; withhold not from us thy consolation. Our hope is in thee; let us not be confounded.

"For this blessed one, O God, and for all our family in heaven, we thank thee. They still belong to us, for they are with thee. The joy of our lives is fading away by the loss of their daily presence, and our beloved homes seem desolate and our hearts are bereaved. O God, pity our bereavement! pardon the unreasonableness of grief! The dark waves of trouble have so often gone over us, we are cast down, almost destroyed. Yet we thank thee for them. All that remains of life is not more precious than their memory. Thou alone knowest how we loved them. But we would not call them back. Our souls faint within us when we say it, for they were dearer than our life. But thou art giving

us the victory. We are dumb with silence, because it is thy doing. Thy will, not ours, be done."

Not only at this time, but always, Dr. Eliot sympathized in the sorrows of his people, as he also rejoiced with them. There seems to be a popular delusion that a man cannot be both a faithful pastor and a good preacher. If one regards a sermon simply as a literary production, an essay with well-rounded period and graceful simile, this may be true; but if its purpose be rather to rouse the conscience than delight the ear, to quicken the spiritual life and engender hope and faith rather than merely to stimulate the intellectual powers, then that minister who has had the largest and deepest human experience, who has been nearest to his people in their joys and sorrows, ought to be able to move and influence them as could no theorist of the study.

One only of Dr. Eliot's books may be considered purely secular, and this is the "Life of Archer Alexander." While upholding the principle of allegiance to law, Dr. Eliot maintained, as already mentioned, that under rare circumstances a true higher law might cause one to stand in direct conflict with the "authorities that be," and that to the state or community this was nothing but the right of revolution, to the individual the call to martyrdom. Doubtless in making this statement he had in mind the Fugitive Slave Law, a law which, in a slave State, he

had denounced from the pulpit, and declared that he would not obey, preferring rather to "bear the penalty of paying the price of the non-surrendered slave, or of the adjudged imprisonment." When such an issue arose, he was prepared to meet it, as related in his "Life of Archer Alexander."

Archer Alexander was a slave, who at the outbreak of the Civil War lived in St. Charles County, not far from St. Louis. He was an intelligent man, and, from the discussions which he frequently overheard, realized that the interests of his race, and their hope of freedom, lay with the party of the Union. When therefore in February, 1863, he learned that the supports of a bridge over which the Union troops were to pass had been sawed through, he walked five miles by night to the house of a Union man, to convey the intelligence and give warning. He fell under suspicion, his life was threatened by secessionists, and with the fear of assassination to spur him on, he succeeded in making his escape to St. Louis. He came to work as an employee on Dr. Eliot's place, and soon revealed his identity. The city was then under martial law, and Dr. Eliot obtained from the provost marshal a permit for Archer's service during a period of thirty days, or until his master established a legal claim. Meantime with the purpose of immediately enfranchising Archer, Dr. Eliot

endeavored to purchase him, and a note containing the request and offer was sent by Judge Bates of St. Louis. The only effect of this communication was the violent abduction of the poor slave from Dr. Eliot's place by hired ruffians. As the period of thirty days, for which Archer's permit had been granted, had not yet expired, Dr. Eliot appealed to the military authorities, and by the aid of detectives Archer was discovered in jail, from which place his abductors expected to take him to Kentucky. He was returned to Dr. Eliot, to whom was granted protection for the poor man for an indefinite period. Again Dr. Eliot offered to purchase him, but no attention was paid to his second communication, and eventually with the rest of his race Archer became a free man.

At the request of his children, Dr. Eliot embodied the incidents of Archer Alexander's life in the form of a narrative which reads like fiction. Incidentally the "Life of Archer Alexander" became what the author termed in the preface, "a fair presentation of slavery in the Border States for the twenty or thirty years preceding the outbreak of hostilities." Of the justice of this claim Dr. Eliot was convinced, when a leading publishing house in a Northern city, to whom the manuscript was submitted, objected to its publication as being "too tame to satisfy the public taste." Parties equally

prominent in a city farther south declared that the judgment of slavery and slaveholders was too harsh, and that the publication of Archer's story would be prejudicial to the publishers. Dr. Eliot tells us that he then asked the opinion of several friends who, having always lived in the slave States, had yet devoted their lives to the cause of freedom, and were therefore qualified to give a dispassionate judgment as to the truth of his delineation "of the relation between master and slave, and the social condition of slaveholding communities." They more than confirmed the truth of Dr. Eliot's statements.

In the preface to the "Life of Archer Alexander," Dr. Eliot also declared that only those who had lived in the border slave States from 1830 to 1860 could understand the complications and difficulties of the irrepressible conflict, or how hard it was to maintain self-respect "under the necessities of deliberate and cautious action," and "to speak plainly without giving such degree of offense as would prevent one from speaking at all." Yet it was in these States that "the first and hardest battles for freedom were fought, and where the ground was prepared upon which the first great victories were won."

Upon this subject Dr. Eliot might well speak with deep feeling. He himself had worked with unchanging persistency of purpose in the cause of emancipation, yet had been censured for adopt-

ing a "temporizing, time-serving policy," while the very fact of his continued residence in a slave community was held as a reproach against him. Yet there, true to his principles, he was endeavoring to acquire an influence that he could use to good purpose when the fitting time arrived. What he thus accomplished has been already shown.

The value of Dr. Eliot's impartial presentation of the social condition of slaveholding communities may at some future time be more fully appreciated. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" will always be popular; yet a future generation, knowing it to be a work of fiction, may believe the picture overdrawn. In the true story of Archer Alexander, Dr. Eliot declared that there is nothing in all the scenes of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to which he himself could not find a parallel in all he had seen and known in St. Louis previous to the war of secession. To such books as the "Life of Archer Alexander" the student of history must turn for reliable information regarding the "peculiar institution."

Archer Alexander, the man, has been immortalized by Thomas Ball, a sculptor, in the bronze group surmounting a monument erected by the colored people of the United States as a memorial to Abraham Lincoln, and known as "Freedom's Memorial." It stands in the Capitol grounds at Washington, and its duplicate in Park Square, Boston. In this group Lincoln is represented in

the act of emancipating a negro slave, who kneels to receive the benediction while grasping his chain as if to break it. In the original design the figure of the slave was ideal; but at the request of the Western Sanitary Commission, the active agent in collecting the funds and erecting the monument, the figure of Archer Alexander, as the representative of his race, was substituted. The likeness is exact.

The Freedmen's Memorial Monument to Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated in Lincoln Park, Washington, D. C., on the eleventh anniversary of his death, April 14, 1876. To Dr. Eliot was assigned the presentation of the monument "for the acceptance and approval of those who had contributed the funds for its erection," and he was also expected to give a brief history of the memorial. This he prepared and forwarded to Mr. James E. Yeatman, with the request that he act as the representative of the Western Sanitary Commission on this occasion. To Mr. Yeatman Dr. Eliot's absence was a matter of regret, and in a letter he said: "To you more than to any one else is the success of our Commission to be attributed. It was your head that conceived, planned, and developed the work. It was your hand at the helm that guided the ship in its course. . . . We can spare any one better than yourself, the most important, the soul and embodiment of the Commission. Your lifelong

sympathies with the cause of freedom should prompt you to be present to witness the crowning act of gratitude of the emancipated to the emancipator."

The "Life of Archer Alexander" was published in 1885, little over a year previous to the death of Dr. Eliot. His strength was then gradually failing. For many years he had been subject to headaches, constantly increasing in frequency, and lasting for longer periods. This was the protest of an overtaxed brain while the mind was still clear and active, full of plans for the future of Washington University and other useful work.

In the summer of 1886, on his seventy-sixth birthday, August 5, 1886, Dr. Eliot wrote the poem "Nunc Dimittis," which voiced his own consciousness of his approaching end, and his desire of release from suffering and disability, while ready to live or die "as the Lord willed."

"Fain would I breathe that gracious word,
Now lettest thou thy servant, Lord,
Depart in peace.
When may I humbly claim that kind award,
And cares and labors cease?
With anxious heart I watch at heaven's gate —
Answer to hear;
With failing strength I feel the increasing weight
Of every passing year.
Hath not the time yet fully come, dear Lord,
Thy servant to release?

"Be still, my heart! In silence God doth speak,
Here is thy place; here, not at heaven's gate;

Thy task is not yet finished; frail and weak,
Doing or suffering, steadfast in thy faith,
Thy service is accepted, small or great;
His time is thine — or soon or late,
If daylight fades, work while the twilight lasts."

Dr. Eliot, very frail and feeble, returned in the fall of 1886, from Jefferson, New Hampshire, to his home in St. Louis. With indomitable will he continued to struggle against increasing weakness, longing to achieve purposes still unaccomplished for which he would gladly have lived. At the beginning of the new year he was taken south to the milder climate of Pass Christian, Mississippi, where he died January 23, 1887. His active mind remained clear and conscious to the last moment of life.

What was the secret of Dr. Eliot's power? Above all else, his absolute self-consecration to the service of God and man, which was to him not only a duty but a divine instinct inspired by love. This it was that impelled him to leave home and friends and the attractions of the older communities to work in the then "far West," and later to resist the temptation to return eastward under favorable auspices. He went to St. Louis not only as an evangelist, a missionary of a liberal faith to spiritualize Unitarianism in the West, but as an educator, a philanthropist, a patriotic citizen of the Republic, to assist in founding institutions of learning, in advancing all humane objects, and in making Missouri a

free State. Strong and decided in his convictions, he never wavered from a purpose once formed, founded as it was sure to be on eternal principles of right and justice. He wrote truly to James Freeman Clarke in his student days, that principles were what his nature craved. Upon these as a foundation was based all his work. He began his ministry in St. Louis, with an assertion in his first sermon delivered there of the principles upon which a Christian society should be founded, declaring that the primary object of such an organization ought to be the accomplishment of the Christian character in the individual members, while next in importance were usefulness in works of kindness and benevolence and the diffusion of Christian truth. These principles were not forgotten by the pastor or people of the Church of the Messiah, as attested in many a life of integrity and usefulness.

In assertion of the principle of the supreme importance of high personal character, Dr. Eliot declared in his sermon on "Social Reform" that the regeneration of society depended upon the individuals of which it was composed, and their moral and religious status determined public sentiment and action.

Ardent in the cause of education, Dr. Eliot advocated absolute non-sectarianism in the conduct of the free schools, and this principle was recognized in the charter of Washington University,

for which institution he would fain have adopted the motto, "Veritas pro veritate." Faithful also to the ideal of "a good education for the many, the best possible education for the few," no financial exigency ever betrayed Washington University into lowering its standard of education for the sake of increasing the number of its students.

Living in a slave State, and regarding slavery as a curse and evil scarcely to be endured, Dr. Eliot yet believed that as an institution of long standing it permeated the social fabric, and had received the sanction of law, regard for which and the Constitution was a sacred obligation. Without a violation of the principle of the supremacy of law, by legitimate methods he desired to see slavery abolished, with the least possible injury to established rights and forms of law. For this reason, and because he realized the momentous social change involved in the altered relation between whites and blacks in the slave States by the abolition of slavery, he advocated gradual emancipation; yet when finally the problem approached solution during the war period, no man could be more eager and anxious than Dr. Eliot to hasten the dawn of freedom.

During the period of the Civil War, in the patriotic sermons delivered by Dr. Eliot on various occasions, the principle of reverence for law was inculcated as a more exalted principle of action

than simply the emotion of patriotism. Loyalty to the Union as a sacred obligation he urged again and again. "The soul of our country," he said, "is the Union. A Confederation will not do. It was tried and failed long ago, and now its hope of succeeding would be a hundred times less. Under the secession doctrine no nation could exist."

Although founded on principle, Dr. Eliot's patriotism was characterized also by exalted emotion. In a sermon addressed to the members of the "Old Guard," referring to his own early recollection of "the booming cannon and shouts of rejoicing in the city of Baltimore when the British abandoned the attack on Fort Henry," he said: "They may tell us we lack the enthusiasm of youth and its freshness of feeling, but what can the young man have to inspire him with memories such as these? With us the love of country is the love of life, and to witness our country's ruin would be the disappointment of all our hopes, the failure of life's work. . . . In advancing life the heart's fire burns less impetuously, and the pulse is more calm and slow; but the fire of patriotism never goes out; it needs no rekindling, and the heart once thoroughly warmed by it, grows cold only in death."

As Dr. Eliot believed that the Civil War would never have occurred had there existed in the South a proper spirit of reverence for law and

the Constitution, so he thought that the recognition of this principle and that of national supremacy as opposed to the extreme doctrine of state rights was essential to the work of reconstruction.

The record of Dr. Eliot's public services dwindles in comparison with the story of his deeds of kindness to individuals. As a minister he felt a personal interest in each member of his congregation. In his work for emancipation he did not overlook the bondman or bondwoman whom he could rescue for freedom. The Western Sanitary Commission, unlike the United States Sanitary Commission, was not organized on a theory, but arose from the exigency of the moment when wounded and dying soldiers were brought to St. Louis, and there was no place ready to receive them. While organizing and directing the work of the Commission, Dr. Eliot visited daily the sick and dying in the hospitals. Long after the war his old horse "Ned" wanted to stop wherever there had formerly stood a hospital. His sympathies were limited to no caste, color, creed, or party, except as he regarded "the least of these my brethren" as more peculiarly under his care, among such including the negro whom he aided from slavery to freedom. In the work of the Western Sanitary Commission he recognized no distinction of friend or foe, of Federal or Confederate, in the treatment of the sick and wounded. As a minister, although a Unitarian in faith, he

belonged to the church universal whose congregation includes all humanity.

In a letter published after his death, a friend wrote of him: "His tender considerateness, his warm and ready sympathy with suffering in all its forms, his generous assistance given with a lavish hand (by this man so parsimonious to himself) whenever he saw a need, — these were his characteristics. . . . No one observed more religiously than he the precept not to let the right hand know the good deeds of the left."

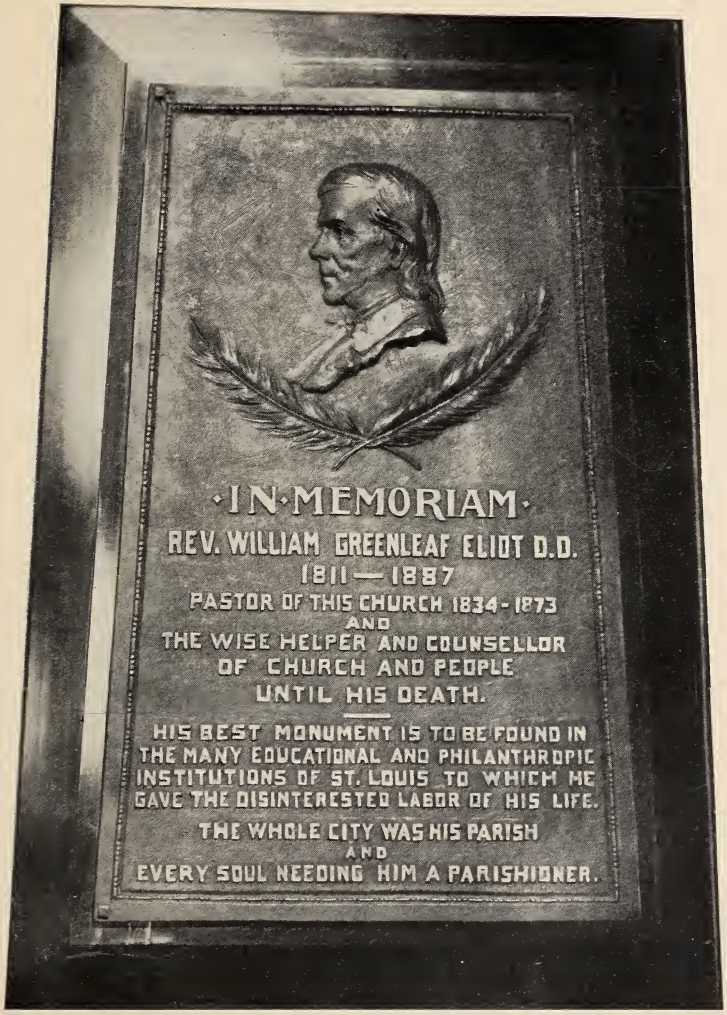
Dr. Eliot's work for temperance reform was inspired by his personal experience of the "social unwritten statistics of intemperance." Through a sort of inductive method, his public measures were often the result of the saving work he was called upon to do in the ministry. In the pursuit of a cause he never lost sight of the individual men and women who were to be benefited.

In a memorial sermon Dr. James Freeman Clarke said: "William Eliot was appealed to as an adviser and guide in all kinds of perplexities. He sometimes took long journeys to bring domestic peace to a household, to reconcile parents to children. His wisdom, firmness, kindness, loyalty to right, usually brought concord out of discord. This he was accustomed to call the fancy work of a minister's profession."

A prominent trait in Dr. Eliot's character, acknowledged by himself, was his dread of

praise. Said Dr. Clarke in his memorial sermon, referring to Dr. Eliot: "It was his often expressed wish that nothing should be said of him in the way of eulogy. He disliked praise as most men dislike blame; but I think it is due to truth and to the interest of humanity that one who has led a steady life of self-denying usefulness should have it put on record, to encourage others to do the same. It is as idle for a man to try to conceal his manliness, as to conceal his faults."

The motto on Dr. Eliot's family crest was "Tace et fac." Another less commonly used in the family was, "Non nobis solum," and this he preferred. Praise seemed to induce in him a feeling of humility that he had not accomplished more. To God he would indeed give all the glory. Dr. James Freeman Clarke, evidently in one of his missionary sermons, made some laudatory remarks regarding the liberality of Dr. Eliot's church; and the latter wrote: "Speak more gingerly of us, — in good-natured general terms, if at all, — as 'our little sister' at the West, who seems tall only because she stands alone, which is the fact. Seriously, the more unobserved we are, the better for us, and very decidedly the more pleasant." Upon this letter Dr. Clarke wrote: "W. G. Eliot. Answered. 'Men do not light a candle and put it under a bushel,' etc.," from which we infer the tenor


·IN·MEMORIAM·
REV. WILLIAM GREENLEAF ELIOT D.D.
1811 — 1887
PASTOR OF THIS CHURCH 1834-1873
AND
THE WISE HELPER AND COUNSELLOR
OF CHURCH AND PEOPLE
UNTIL HIS DEATH.
HIS BEST MONUMENT IS TO BE FOUND IN
THE MANY EDUCATIONAL AND PHILANTHROPIC
INSTITUTIONS OF ST. LOUIS TO WHICH HE
GAVE THE DISINTERESTED LABOR OF HIS LIFE.
THE WHOLE CITY WAS HIS PARISH
AND
EVERY SOUL NEEDING HIM A PARISHIONER.

of his reply. Dr. Eliot somewhat humorously records the fact that he had promised Mr. Reavis, author of "Saint Louis, the Future Great City of the West," that he would write a notice of the book if Mr. Reavis would not put his name in it, a compact which was kept.

It was inevitable that a man possessed of so much self-control as Dr. Eliot should have presence of mind in any trying ordeal. On at least one occasion his own life and the lives of several other persons were thereby saved. The incident referred to occurred on Hampton Beach after a storm, when the waves ran high and there was a strong undertow. Most of the bathers had left the water, and Dr. Eliot was just preparing to do so, when he heard his daughter call to him for help. She and several young companions, clasping hands, had ventured out too far and lost their footing. Dr. Eliot went to their assistance, and found that he too was being drawn seaward by the sliding sand. Only two persons on the shore, his little grandchild and her mother, saw the bathers as they were apparently engulfed by an enormous wave. They only realized the threatened catastrophe. When after the lapse of moments Dr. Eliot's head emerged from the rush of waters, the expression of mingled agony and resignation on his uplifted face confirmed the worst fears of the two beholders. Amid the thunder of the waves the cry "They are drown-

ing!" was for some moments unnoticed and unheard by persons scattered over the beach, who, engrossed in other things, were unaware of what was happening. This seeming unconcern appeared the very "mockery of grief." In the absence of any means of relief, before assistance could be rendered, the bathers struggled to the shore, spent and exhausted. Dr. Eliot had for one moment believed escape from drowning impossible, but seeing a huge wave approaching, he cried: "Now, girls, jump for your lives!" Encouraged by his tones, they made a supreme effort, were carried in a little way, and repeating this with each succeeding wave, succeeded finally in obtaining a footing. One moment of hesitation on Dr. Eliot's part, of failure on that of the young girls to obey his direction, and all of them would have been swept out to sea. It is such crises of life that prove the man, whether he be strong or weak.

Dr. Eliot always maintained that whatever it was right to do, could and must be done, no matter how great the sacrifice required. Natural energy, religious zeal, love of humanity, and the desire to do good, operated as powerful incentives to effort. The almost invariable success of his labors often concealed the difficulty of the task. To a friend to whom he appealed for aid, when endeavoring to increase the endowment fund of the Washington University Law School,

he wrote: "You know how hard I have labored for thirty years past, and I think you will agree with me that the results have not been without benefit to the general advancement and prosperity of the city; but no one can know the difficulties and discouragements which I am often compelled to meet."

Early in his ministry, under the stress of many cares, Dr. Eliot declared that, whatever the result, he could not abandon his chosen field of work. "God has placed me here to work," he wrote in 1836 from St. Louis, "and the work shall be done or I will fail under it. I have no choice here. I cannot 'take it easy,' for that is to be unfaithful." Yet he acknowledged that, with his own experience of "complete exhaustion of the whole faculties," he sometimes felt that it was wrong for him to encourage young men to come and do the same, since it brought on "premature old age."

Dr. Eliot's home life was very dear to him. Always devoted to little children, as he grew older he loved them with an almost increasing fondness, and to his grandchildren came a heritage of affection. The days they spent with him were red-letter days, looked forward to with delight and cherished in remembrance. Many were the verses full of quaint conceits he wrote for them on birthdays and other occasions, and warm and cordial the greeting when they came

to visit him. Hearing their voices in the hall, he would rise from his reclining chair in the study, and come out with beaming countenance to clasp a child in each arm. At dinner-time, as they sat about him at the long table, he was the picture of beneficence and happiness. An unbroken record of his labors might convey the impression that life to him was altogether serious, but such an inference is erroneous. Naturally cheerful, his hopefulness was increased by his faith in the ultimate triumph of good, while religious resignation and trust tided him over the deeps of affliction. His was a life not given to pleasure, but finding in many ways rest and relaxation from toil. He greatly enjoyed travel, and a glimpse of the ocean always invigorated and refreshed him as if with new currents of vital power. The last summer of his life was spent among the mountains, and at its close he expressed his regret that he had not chosen differently, exclaiming, "Oh, I so longed for the seashore!"

As with many other persons of great earnestness of disposition, Dr. Eliot possessed a fine sense of humor, which proved a valuable counterpoise to the pressure of care or burden of sorrow. This side of his nature he manifested more strongly among intimate friends, who loved and understood him. With them he could converse less reservedly, in light or serious vein, or enjoy an occasional encounter of wit. Although prac-

tical duties had interposed between him and that life of study and contemplation which had made his student days so attractive to him, among friends of kindred tastes he found pleasure in the discussion of books and authors, and the aptness of his references and quotations proved that his literary tastes were merely held in abeyance to urgent duties.

A sense of the responsibilities of the pastoral relation was in Dr. Eliot very strong. It was not limited to those of his own parish under his immediate care, but extended to all who in any trouble, any crisis of life, came to him for advice or assistance. The bond thus established remained, and large was the flock he held in remembrance and affection. He especially recognized the claim upon him of the poor and humble. In his absence from home a call came summoning him to a home where a child lay dead. "I left the address upon his study table," said a member of his family, "and wrote upon it, 'Pauper.' I knew he would go at once when he saw that." The colored man, his protégé, Archer Alexander, he always regarded as under his special charge, and would never allow him to want for anything essential. After the man's death he took legal charge of his adopted daughter, a little quadroon child, and provided for her several years until a permanent home could be found.

In Dr. Eliot's nature seeming diversities were reconciled in a strong, well-balanced character. He was grave and serious as was fitting in one to whom life was so earnest, yet when not overburdened with care he was full of wit and humor. Reserved in the expression of his own deeper emotions, he responded quickly with sympathy and practical aid to the sorrows and needs of others. Stern in his rebuke of sin, to the repentant he was tender and encouraging. Conservative in his religious convictions, in the advocacy of reform he was bold and radical, in all things showing the same conservative radicalism he attributed to Martineau. Adverse as he was to the extremes of ecclesiasticism, which he regarded as burdensome and exacting, he found perfect liberty in allegiance to Christ. Believing that religion must be a personal expression, an inward turning of the heart to God, he yet appreciated the institutions of religion for their influence in effecting this result, holding them to exist not for the glory of God, but the elevation of humanity. He practiced a rigid self-denial, which sometimes conveyed the impression of asceticism, but it was exercised with a practical object in view, and not as spiritual self-discipline. Sensitive to beautiful surroundings, he enjoyed comfort and luxury; but he had so many uses for money in the accomplishment of unselfish aims that he was, as already expressed, "abstemious to himself."

Based on a few great principles, ruled by strong convictions, inspired by the love of God as the Supreme Good, and of humanity as full of divine possibilities, the life of William Greenleaf Eliot admitted no complexity of motive, no deviation from a lofty purpose.

In the Church of the Messiah, St. Louis, at the right of the altar, is erected a memorial tablet to Dr. Eliot, placed there by friends who cherished for him sincere affection and esteem. The inscription, composed by Colonel George E. Leighton, is classic in its inclusive brevity. It is as follows: "In Memoriam, Rev. William Greenleaf Eliot, D. D., 1811–1887, Pastor of this Church 1834–1873, and the wise helper and counselor of church and people until his death.

"His best monument is to be found in the many educational and philanthropic institutions of St. Louis, to which he gave the disinterested labor of his life.

"The whole city was his parish, and every soul needing him a parishioner."

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